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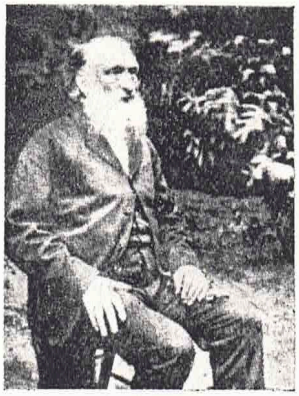
DR. RAYNER



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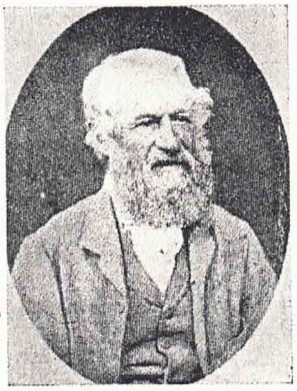

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CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	7
CHAPTER I.	
EARLY MEDICAL LITERATURE	21
THE FUTURE	71
CHAPTER II.	
FOREIGN INTERESTS	79
CHAPTER III.	
THE FIRST BRITISH IN THE ALSATIA	101
CHAPTER IV.	
DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION	121
AMATEUR EXPLORATION IN CANTERBURY	126
THE PROFESSIONALS	134
EARLY CHRISTCHURCH	142
THE RUNS	145
SOUTH CANTERBURY	170
CHAPTER V.	
THE MISSIONARIES IN THE ALSATIA	180
RELIGION IN THE SOUTH ISLAND	203
CHAPTER VI.	
EUROPEAN-MAORI CONTACTS	223
THE NGAI-TAHU GRIEVANCE	253
MAORI LORE	256
MAORI HEALTH	278
WARS	283
CHAPTER VII.	
THE DOCTORS	292
REFERENCES	417
INDEX OF MEDICAL MEN	418

CHAPTER VII.

THE DOCTORS

Robert Valpy Fulton dedicated his *Medical Practice in Otago and Southland in the Early Days* to the wives of the early doctors. 'In many cases women of education and refinement, they sacrificed comfortable homes to face the perils of the unknown, and were left widowed and almost penniless to bring up their little ones by their own exertions. Living among us to-day in humble circumstances, they battle bravely along, forgotten by the hundreds of persons whose lives were saved by those heroes of the past.' On the whole, the doctors of Canterbury have been more fortunate.

The writer makes no apology for his inclusion of historical notes; in this way only lies safety. Nobody can say who was the first white man to land in Canterbury. Sealers must have landed some time about 1800. Traders are always the first but pakeha-Maoris follow close on their tracks. As early as 1820 white men were living with the Maoris. In 1830 Jem and Charley, both with Maori wives, were at Takapuneke (Red House Bay). But pakeha-Maoris leave few records; in some cases there were very cogent reasons for silence. Sydney traders and land-buyers were about Canterbury after 1820 but records are scanty. In 1839 there began the first considerable farming venture, that of Rhodes at Takapuneke. In Chapter IV the writer has recorded the little information available about the years before 1840.

The substantial and progressive settlers, mostly Scots though Rhodes and Greenwood were hard-headed Yorkshiremen, who came to Canterbury before the Pilgrims have been named pre-Adamites. Acland lists the term as 'an old nickname for the families who arrived in Canterbury before the settlement' and refers to the *Letters* of Mrs Deans. Cotton Oswell, the celebrated African game-hunter, has likened the rhinoceros to a pre-Adamite animal, and he described the Ba-Katla country in the following words, 'It was then full of game, and put me in mind of the children's pictures of Adam naming the beasts in the Garden of Eden—more animals than bushes.' The term pre-Adamite is certainly one of poetic licence, but the Canterbury pre-Adamites were educated and intelligent men, who paved the way for the Pilgrims.

Many of the Pilgrims were 'new chums' but there were exceptions. When the eldest Dobson was shot in cold blood by bushrangers the question arose about the proper scaffolding to hang the murderers. But the Dobsons were on hand. 'The culprits went down with a satisfactory crack.' They could turn their hand to any work.

The pre-settlement days of Canterbury have not received the study which they deserve. There is, to take a notable neglect, no adequate record of the work of J. W. Hamilton, Canterbury's greatest inland explorer.

BEFORE THE PILGRIMS

There is a tendency, somewhat unique in New Zealand history, to begin the history of Canterbury in the year 1850 when the Pilgrims began to arrive in the *First Four Ships*. The truth is that the preparations for and the arrival of the Pilgrims took place at a relatively late date; the Canterbury Settlement inaugurated the easy stage of pioneering. Before 1850 was the difficult pioneering epoch which has been so much neglected by historians that one of them recently contended that the Maori and the French had little cultural influence in the history of Canterbury.

Captain Cook spoke of Bank's Island, and it was Captain Chase of the *Pegasus* who, in 1809, discovered the true nature of the Peninsula. Nobody can say who was the first European to land in Canterbury; possibly sealers and whalers touched the coast as early as they called at the southern bays and inlets of Murihiku. On the sand-hills near New Brighton a burial place was discovered, the head-board of which showed the date 1822. Maori tradition, so long in some directions remains scanty over the early days of European settlement. Nevertheless, there is still a hope that W. A. Taylor and other students of Maori history may bring fresh dates to publication.

Visitors, traders and settlers began to come to the Bays some time after 1800 and the traders (flax, timber, Maori heads, potatoes, etc.) left run-aways anxious to live ashore; sailors, convicts, debtors, adventurers and others who became pakeha-Maoris. The Maori population was sparse otherwise more men would have settled. Shore whaling began about 1835 and farming about 1839 so that when the French emigrants arrived in Akaroa in 1840 there were at least a hundred Europeans in the Bays; Captain Stanley and Major Bunbury both estimated the population in 1840. The French settlers, fifty-seven strong, really made the township of Akaroa; the English were in the whaling bays or living with the Maoris. By 1844 the white population of Akaroa had risen to about 250 with a corresponding increase in white population in the Bays.

Between 1840 and 1850 Akaroa was a French town; a French man-of-war being maintained on the coast and regular contact with the outside established. Many well known families including the Deans and Hays looked to Akaroa for mails, and James Hay and other early settlers have paid tributes to the help received from the French officers. Most nationalities whaled and in the off-season and at Christmas much shipping lay in the Bays, especially Akaroa and Port Levy. One wonders what the Rhodes, the Deans, the Hays, the Sinclairs and other British settlers thought of the predominance of foreign interest; Akaroa was in regular contact with the French Naval Station. However, early records suggest that the numbers of British at the whaling bays were sufficient to give some confidence, despite some of them being rather rough diamonds.

In April, 1850 Akaroa received an accidental increase in population when the first body of direct English settlers arrived in the *Monarch;* among them were many English stalwarts. In the few years before 1850 shipping to Sydney and Wellington became almost frequent. Finally, the arrival of the *Phoebe Dunbar* in Port Cooper in November, 1850 with the certain intelligence that four ships had sailed from Plymouth loaded with emigrants, both proved the prophecy of the pre-Adamites and led some of them to Port Cooper to welcome the Pilgrims.

Prominent men in Lyttelton before the arrival of the *First Four Ships* were William Pratt, a storekeeper, Major Hornbrook, the genial proprietor of the Mitre Hotel, and Captain Thomas. The Rhodes of Purau supplied

Captain Thomas's men and others with mutton. In November, 1850 the *Phoebe Dunbar* arrived in Lyttelton bringing certain intelligence that four ships had sailed from Plymouth with immigrants. Writing in 1900 William Pratt (31) gave his experiences. 'The writer was in Wellington when Captain Thomas had got together his staff, consisting of carpenters, sawyers, a blacksmith, and a few mechanics, and one hundred strong able-bodied Maoris for navvy work, having in view the road-making. The writer having determined to start a store in the new settlement, regretted not being able to proceed south at the same time as Captain Thomas in June 1849, thinking it more prudent to first go to Nelson, where sawn timber was cheap and plentiful, and there frame a house to be afterwards erected at Lyttelton. This plan was accordingly carried out, but owing to various delays it was about the middle of December before Lyttelton was reached, by which time Captain Thomas had accomplished a great deal of work. . . . . (Godley stopped the work in April, 1850.) . . . . . Captain Thomas was much concerned at this sudden and unexpected stoppage of a busy scene of industry. After the vessel's departure with Mr. Godley, who proceeded to Wellington to await events, Captain Thomas, having made arrangements for the return of all the Maoris according to the terms of their engagement, assembled the men engaged upon the various works. Having faith that the settlement would still go on, and this was only a temporary check, he told them he had a good stock of stores of various kinds, though his cash credit was stopped, and that he would distribute the stores in question in lieu of cash to those who would stick to the work until some of the half-finished jobs were completed. The majority of them accepted this novel payment for their labour, but others having no use for coal tar, paint oil, and spike nails, declined the terms and also took passage back to Wellington, thus further reducing the members of our at no time large community; so for the next four or five months things were very dull and monotonous. To help pass away the time, I employed myself in doubling the size of my store, to the surprise of some of my neighbours with less faith in the future of the settlement than myself." In the same book Pratt describes the arrival of the *Mariner*, and the *Phoebe Dunbar*. The *Mariner* carried some stores for the Canterbury Association, and had on board William Wilson, bound for the Nelson settlement. Wilson came to Canterbury a few months later. He became 'Cabbage Wilson.'

There were two Hornbrooks, Alfred and William. At first, Alfred, ran the Mitre Hotel, but he soon had Mount Pleasant run. It is recorded that he used to signal the arrival of ships. Arowhenua was the next project, but scab was the problem. The brothers had other runs in South Canterbury. Mrs. W. Hornbrook was the first white woman to live in South Canterbury though there may have been earlier ones at the whaling station. By repute, Mrs. Hornbrook was the last woman in Canterbury to wear a crinoline.

The whalers and the pre-Adamites explored the country more than historians would have us believe. At the time most of Canterbury near the coast was swampy. To go north the usual route was to go out as far as the present Courtenay, cross the streams of the Wye McReedie there, and then along the dry country near the front hills. To go south there was either the beach or the Ellesmere, and other swamps had to be headed.

The amenities of Port Cooper were considerable in the late forties. The residents may have complained about the stringy Purau mutton but pig, the only other considerable meat food, was never plentiful in the Bays or on the Plains. The forests near the front hills swarmed with

Cookers. But Port Cooper had its ups and downs. A careful reading of Pratt's *Colonial Experiences* shows how many men had to 'go on the beach' after Godley stopped most of the work in April, 1850. The work ceased while Thomas was opening out a most important cutting in the infant colonial township.

In the early days Akaroa was a beautiful harbour. In a diary of February, 1855, I found the following: 'A description of Akaroa—the Garden of New Zealand—is impossible. It is the oasis of those who call Canterbury a desert and is the place to which Godley sent those who, disgusted with the Plain, were about to return to England. Mr. Aylmer for one, he just went to look at it, on his way home, and there he is now. Called on the Rev. Mr. Aylmer and Mr. Watson, the magistrate, who have each a 50-acre section. Part of each is now worth £50 an acre, being near the sea, and fit for building ground. We saw, at Mr. Aylmer's, peach trees about three feet high with a great deal of fruit on them. He had sewn the stones only three years ago. We afterwards saw trees, said to be only two years old, in full bearing. Some of the settlers are starting vineyards, but they are not in full bearing. At one place we saw three walnut trees about 16 feet high, and so laden with fruit that the boughs had to be propped up.'

In 1863 a disastrous bush fire spread over Banks Peninsula destroying much of the beauty of the Bays. This has been recorded by E. X. Le Lievre who also stated that, 'Prior to the arrival of the British the French settlers never saw money. They lived solely by barter, trading vegetables and so on with the whalers for what they could get, which was often rum. The British and French got on very well together, and my father had a great admiration for British justice.'

In Alexander Marjoribank's book *Travels in New Zealand*, published in 1846, we read that, 'In the Middle Island there is another thriving settlement called Akaroa in Banks Peninsula, where there is a tolerable harbour adjoining a good agricultural district. In this settlement, in addition to a population of two hundred British, there are about one hundred French, who are all doing well, many who had not a sou on disembarking from the *Comte de Paris* in 1840 being already possessed of several thousand francs.' Marjoribanks was a Scot, and he has much to say against the luxuries of early New Zealand such as the horse-racing and public dinners. But he himself came out as a cabin passenger in the *Bengal Merchant* in 1840, and generally did himself well.

Speaking of the French settlers of 1840, James Hay says, 'About this time the Maoris were troublesome; and, for the protection, not only of their own countrymen, but of all Europeans, the French Government sent out a warship (*Aube*) which, besides cruising about the Peninsula waters, established blockhouses to shelter the settlers in case of attack by the Natives. . . . . It is quite impossible to estimate the benefit conferred on the early Canterbury settlers by the presence and vigilance of this French warship. The Maoris had a wholesome dread of her. Before leaving Akaroa on a cruise, long or short, the captain invariably gave a warning to the natives through the chief at Wainui, that should any white settlers be molested by them during his absence, he would lose no time on his return in blowing their houses to pieces. Whether or not any formal acknowledgment of this protection passed from the British to the French Government, there can be no doubt that our debt of gratitude to that sturdy old sailor is a very heavy one, involving, as it did, the safety and probably the survival of our pioneers.'

C. B. Robinson's work at Akaroa is noted in Captain Stanley's report to Hobson.

Her Majesty's Ship *Britomart*, at sea, 17th Sept., 1840. Sir:—I have the honour to inform your Excellency that I proceeded in Her Majesty's sloop under my command to the port of Akaroa, in Bank's Peninsula, where I arrived on the 10th August, after a very stormy passage, during which the stern boat was washed away, and one of the quarter boats stove. The French frigate *L'Aube* had not arrived when I anchored, nor had any French emigrants been landed.

11th August: I landed, accompanied by Messrs. Murphy and Robinson, police magistrates, and visited the only two parts of the bay where there were houses; at both places a flag was hoisted, and a court, of which notice had been given the day before, was held by the magistrates.

Having received information that there were three whaling stations on the southern side of the Peninsula, the exposed portion of which afforded no anchorage for the *Britomart*, I sent Messrs. Murphy and Robinson to visit them in a whale boat. At each station the flag was hoisted and a court held.

On the 15th August the French frigate, *L'Aube*, Capt, Lavaud, arrived, having been four days off the point. On the 16th August the French whaler, *Comte de Paris*, Captain Langlois, having on board 57 French emigrants, arrived.

With the exception of M. Billingi, from the Jardin des Plantes, who is sent to look after the emigrants, and who is a good botanist and mineralogist, the emigrants are all of the lower order, and include carpenters, gardeners, stonemasons, labourers, a baker, and a miner, in all 30 men, 11 women, and the rest children.

Capt. Lavaud, on the arrival of the emigrants, assured me on his word of honour, that he would maintain the most strict neutrality between the British residents and the emigrants, and that should any differences arise between them he would settle matters impartially.

Capt. Lavaud also informed me, that as the *Comte de Paris* had to proceed to sea whaling, that he would cause the emigrants to be landed in some unoccupied part of the bay, where he pledged himself they should do nothing which could be considered hostile to our Government, and that until fresh instructions should be received from our respective Governments, the emigrants should merely build themselves houses for shelter, and clear away what little land they might require for gardens.

Upon visiting the *Comte de Paris*, I found that she had on board, besides agricultural tools for the settlers, six long 24-pounder guns mounted on field carriages. I immediately called upon Captain Lavaud to protest against the guns being landed. Captain Lavaud assured me that he had been much surprised at finding that guns had been sent out in the *Comte de Paris*, but that he had already given the most positive orders that they should not be landed.

On the 19th August, the French emigrants having landed in a well sheltered part of the bay, where they could not interfere with any one, I handed over to Messrs. Murphy and Robinson the instructions intrusted to me by your Excellency to meet such a contingency.

Mr. Robinson finding that he could engage three or four Englishmen as constables, and having been enabled, through the kindness of Capt.

Lavaud, to purchase a boat from a French whaler, decided upon remaining.

Capt. Lavaud expressed much satisfaction when I informed him that Mr. Robinson was to remain, and immediately offered him the use of his cabin and table as long as *L'Aube* remained at Akaroa.

Mr Robinson accepted Capt. Lavaud's offer till he could establish himself on shore.

On 27th August I sailed from Akaroa for Pigeon Bay. . . . . .

I have the honour to be, etc.,

W. M. Stanley, R.N.

To His Excellency, Lieut. Governor Hobson.

Many French vessels, whalers, men-of-war and trading ships, came to Akaroa but there were several well known ships. *L'Aube* was a warship under the command of Lavaud. She was a corvette. She was sent home to France in 1842 and Lavaud was left in command of the *Allier*, an inferior ship which had been sent out as a substitute. Lavaud was commended by the French Government and promoted to Post-Captain. In January, 1843, the *Allier* returned to France under the command of Lavaud. He had been relieved by Captain Bérard of the corvette ship *Le Rhin*. Bérard was an able man who carried on in the excellent tradition set by Lavaud.

After Lavaud had left, the British flag was hoisted for the first time at Akaroa and the French Government formally recognised British sovereignty in New Zealand. But French warships were about Akaroa for some years afterwards. *Le Rhin* sailed for France on April 16th, 1846, and was succeeded by the *Seine* for a short time afterwards.

The scattered early settlements of New Zealand were served by a fleet of coast-wise ships of small tonnage. The settlements were almost solely dependent on these communications. As yet, historians have not written them up. Dr. Morris Watt has collected the records of some of them and it is likely that these will be published.

The Bays were settled before the arrival of the *First Four Ships*. In 1844 the European population of Akaroa was 245, though Wakefield's estimate was 97 Maori and 120 Europeans—60 French, 20 German and 40 British. There were many British at the whaling stations in the southern bays of the Peninsula. In 1850 the Akaroa Europeans were still about 300, in 1880 about 600, and 1940 about 600. Akaroa is standing still.

Some of the 'original purchasers' among the Pilgrims chose their sections in the Bays. Thus W. Aylmer had 50 acres in his valley, Doctor Watkins had land in Akaroa, T. S. Duncan selected in Decanter Bay, J. Dickin in French Farm Bay, and Lord Lyttelton's trustees had land in Duvauchelles. Andersen (19) has noted the other selections.

The whalers themselves were fine men, but the convicts (ticket-of-leave men) who were brought over from Hobart were, generally speaking, a bad lot. When, subsequently, the Melbourne diggings broke out they rushed over there in a body. Many whalers left their ships and married Maoris. Port Levy was a favourite spot for the whalers to land for wood and water, and to refresh their men. The whalers named Pigeon Bay from the great numbers of pigeons there. James Hay (20) says, 'In Pigeon Bay I have seen as many as eight vessels (ships, barques and brigs) at anchor at one time, all busy taking in wood, water, beef, potatoes, fresh vegetables, etc.'

At the time of Captain Cook, the term 'bark' was a general term applied to small sailing vessels. At the present time 'bark' or 'barque' applied to a three-master means one with the fore and main mast square rigged, and the mizzen rigged fore and aft. If all three masts are square rigged, the ship is known as a full rigged ship. The writer has no personal knowledge of rigs.

Pakeha-Maoris, some of them traders, were established in the Bays before the beginning of shore whaling. The first whalers who called were ocean whalers who put into the Bays for refreshment and refitting and perhaps to leave sealers. Then shore whaling became the important trade of the thirties and forties. It was the 'right' whale producing 'black oil' which calved in the sheltered bays in the winter months and so formed a suitable quest for the shore whalers.

Among the whaling ships of the year 1838 there were 18 Americans with a take worth over a quarter of a million sterling, sixteen French vessels based on Akaroa, many Germans, and the British. The British ships included many based on Sydney; in addition to their own catches they shipped the yield of the shore stations. Shore bases necessitated the purchase of land from the Maoris, such as the Hempleman purchase, but in Canterbury such purchases never came up to the sizeable areas dealt in round Otago and Southland. Jean Langlois of the celebrated *Cachalot* tried to develop his purchase into a French colony at Akaroa; he himself wished France to annex New Zealand.

In Southland deals began about 1832, but in 1835 the greatest land seller, Tuhawaiki or Bloody Jack, succeeded his uncle Whakataupuka (Taboca), and the next year sold land at Paterson Inlet. Guns and powder formed much of the barter for the land sold in the south, and these were used in the expeditions against Te Rauparaha. Thus the white settlers got both land and protection from the Maori Napoleon.

Ill-informed people often speak of W. B. Rhodes and other early pioneers in a depreciative manner. Nothing could be further from the truth since the Rhodes brothers were great men. 'Their word was their bond in all matters.' Barney Rhodes was forceful, self reliant, and aggressive. 'If Barney stamps on his hat, run for a marlin spike.' He was a well known sea-captain and merchant many years before coming to New Zealand. In his first whaling and exploring trip, which, by the way, was not very lucrative, he had a mutiny in Port Cooper due to his inexperience in whaling matters. He was more concerned, like every sailor, with keeping his sails filled. In *The Day Before Yesterday* is a story about Rhodes at the Bay of Islands which grips the imagination. James Hay was a neighbour of the Rhodes and his eulogy of the Brothers bears constant repitition. W. B. Rhodes was able to deal with all classes of men, and perhaps the most interesting stories I have heard concern his relations with Lord Tollemache, but this is not the place to record them.

The trading and whaling vessels, especially the French and German, often carried surgeons who, on occasions, exerted their skill on the sick and injured in the Bays. No doubt some of these men were capable but, of necessity, we have few records of their activities. I understand that the French maritime records are very carefully kept, but that very few are available or even translated. A notable example is the *la Perouse* record. The whalers and traders were in many ways a 'God-send' to the early settlers, being a contact with Wellington, Sydney, and other ports, and a source of stores in poverty-stricken times. The modern schoolboy is often taught that the whalers were a low class, but such a view is much too conservative.

I understand that in some schools the early settlers and whalers are considered as a class.

As far as we know the first permanent European settlement was established by the whaler Hempleman. There were of course pakeha-Maoris living in the Bays from earliest times, and land-buyers were in the Bays and over the Plains perhaps 'from the time of Cook.' Sealers were on the coast very early in the century, and in 1829 whaling was established in Cook Strait. From then on temporary whaling establishments were established about the Peninsula. Nobody knows who started the first temporary base but Hempleman 'gets the credit' for forming the first permanent white settlement in Canterbury. We know nothing of the temporary camps of the land-buyers. We know nothing of the sealers who must have visited Canterbury.

Hall-Jones gives the southern whalers a good name and the same can be said of the Canterbury whalers. 'In the northern whaling stations, debauchery and licentiousness were apparently so prominent that the absence of these characteristics in the Southland settlements must be specially emphasized. Both the sealing and the whaling folk in these parts were of good British stock. One might expect escaped convicts from Australia among them, but many of their biographies have been collected and in no case is there any trace of such origin.

'They respected, and were respected by, the Maoris; they were faithful to their Maori wives—married them by the custom of the land and when clergymen came among them added to their union the blessing of the church. Bishop Selwyn found many a Bible or prayer book in their homes. They were family-loving men, proud of their handsome half-caste sons and daughters, and concerned to have them educated.

'Not for them the horror or slavery of "civilised" Europe; not for them the complexities of modern times—customs duty and wages tax, forms and schedules, coupons and licenses. Theirs was the majesty of the sea in all its showings, the beauty of forest and fiord, the grandeur of the mountains, and the rosy sunset of Rakiura. The few pictures that have been preserved show them as fine featured stalwarts, of strong character and powerful physique. They were in no way inferior to the immigrant settlers of later years.' (51).

Hall-Jones goes on to give the life histories of some of the whalers.

Hempelman's log is an early record of sickness and violent deaths associated with whaling. He mentions the 'doctor' but this man was probably the cook. Though intemperate, Hempleman was an able man. When he claimed to own so much of the Peninsula, everybody lived rent-free, and, despite odd examples of cruelty, his management of the whaling station was humane.

There has been much discussion about the date of Hempelman's arrival in Canterbury. W. A. Taylor agrees with F. A. Anson, who stated that Hempelman's original station was at Peraki, the first permanent station was in 1837, but there were probably temporary settlements in the two previous years. It was Dr. McNab who started the Port Cooper myth. It is definite that the Wellers used Port Cooper and Port Levy in 1835 and 1836 in a more temporary manner. G. C. Thomson, who has the Weller papers and intends to publish, will not be drawn into argument. Possibly the Wellers were using Port Cooper in 1834.

W. A. Taylor states that the Wellers were never at Otakau in 1831 or 1832 and that there was no fire at Otakau in 1832. McNab is in error over this. Though the story has often been repeated it is very questionable

whether the Maoris murdered a boat crew from the *Sophia* at Wharekeake near Otago heads. W. A. Taylor and others have argued as to the accuracy of the claims to land as outlined in the Rhodes papers. Colonel Godfrey, the commissioner, was one of those who negatived their accuracy. It would seem that McNab was rather unfair to Anson over the date of Hempelman's first arrival on Banks Peninsula.

It would seem that Hempelman was a constant visitor to Banks Peninsula after 1835. The Weller brothers were using Port Cooper and Port Levy in that year and may have done so the year after. 'At Little Port Cooper there was no necessity for whalers to build whares of raupo or sleep in oil barrels: the Divine had given the necessary shelter, a dry, comfortable, sheltered cave, which is still used by fishermen from Lyttelton.' But these were only temporary establishments. The first permanent white settlement in Canterbury was Hempelman's at Peraki. Unfortunately his log does not contain a direct indication that it was at Peraki, but W. A. Taylor says it was at Peraki. 'Why did Hempelman stand off the 'harbour' because it was squally outside with a ship leaking so badly that it had to be pumped every two hours? The reports on Port Cooper made in our earliest records clearly and very definitely say that Port Cooper of all New Zealand harbours could be 'entered safely by day or by night.' From 1835 to 1850 not one accident occurred though whaling ships plied its waters. Akaroa and Peraki could not be entered safely in squally weather. Captain Joseph Price, who plied the waters of the Peninsula during the years in question, makes mention of Weller Bros. of Otakau having coopers ashore at Port Cooper in 1836. That Wellers Bros.' ships called there has been placed on record. Would Hempelman have jumped Weller's grounds? The *Stories of Banks Peninsula,* by Jacobsen, was in print when Price was very much alive, yet no refutation of the statements has come to light. The late highly-respected Mr. F. A. Anson and his historical research, and his 'Green's Point Memorial' have so far suffered quite enough at the hands of the 'modernists' who fail to publish, as the *Akaroa Mail* has done, the Hobson letter of instruction in full, but place dots where one or two very relevant words occur. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that Captain George Hempelman did not receive what was 'really' owing to him, but he was not the only one who suffered when Akaroa came into the Canterbury Association block.' (*The Press,* Dec. 3rd, 1937.)

Hempelman was at Peraki till 1843 when he sold to Price. He died at Akaroa in 1880, having prosecuted his land claim for many years. On the whole he was a highly respected man; he may have 'barreled' a Maori on one occasion, but even this is unlikely. After 1829 whaling began in Cook Strait, and from then on whalers were up and down the coast. Of these men Hempelman was one of the most humane. At Peraki there were usually eight Europeans as well as Maoris and the *Peraki Log* would seem to be a faithful record.

Concerning the first permanent settlement in Canterbury there are several points at issue. Firstly, who started the first settlement? The honour is usually given to Hempelman. Secondly, where was Hempelman's first settlement? W. A. Taylor says Peraki, but C. R. Straubel says Port Cooper. What was the date of the settlement? Taylor says 1836 and Straubel states that Hempelman was not settled at Peraki till March, 1837, that Hempelman had a station in Port Cooper in 1836, and that no more than a temporary shore party could have been landed in March, 1835.

Johannes Andersen and C. R. Straubel have examined the Rhodes papers, the log of the *Australian.* (*The Press,* April 4th, 1938 et seq.) Straubel's views would seem to be largely based on this evidence. The *Australian* was in Port Cooper in 1836, and the log suggests that Hempelman was well established there. Joseph Price who was about the Bays on and off from 1831 could have confirmed this but he was silent.

W. A. Taylor has given his views. He states that a reading of Hempelman's log shows that Peraki was the first permanent settlement. Of course one has to 'read between the lines.' Captain Stanley of the *Britomart* stated in September, 1840, that Hempelman had been at Peraki four years. The raupo mentioned is found both at Peraki and Port Cooper. The timber cut may have been for housing or boat repairs. The 1836 record in Hempelman's log shows that the buildings were mostly made of raupo (flags) and this is the year in which timber cutting is mentioned.

In summing up Straubel says, 'Mr. Taylor's lack of faith in the Rhodes papers—the day-to-day log kept by Captain Rhodes of the *Australian* in 1836, of which I have seen the original—is the only opposition he offers to the point on which the article (his article in *The Press)* is based. His summary dismissal of first-hand contemporary evidence in this way does not do away with the fact that Hempleman, at an unnamed place, records the arrival of Captain Rhodes, and that Captain Rhodes's log for the same day says he arrived at Port Cooper. If that is not clear evidence of where Hempelman was, what is it? Irrational refusal to accept such evidence can only be based on prejudice, which is unworthy of a historian. This evidence must override Captain Stanley's report, which is not supported by exact dates. Neither Andersen or anyone else has hitherto plainly stated that Captain Rhodes, according to the evidence of his own log, arrived at Port Cooper on July 16th, 1836. Mr. Taylor apparently does not see that the failure of Captain Price to contradict the suggestion that Hempelman was at Port Cooper in 1836 is as good evidence of its truth as of its falsity. Perhaps Captain Price could not contradict it. Mr. Taylor has taken me up wrongly if he thinks I mean to claim that Captain Rhodes or other members of his firm did the lion's share of the whaling round the peninsula in the thirties. I am quite aware that they did not. The Weller Bros.' papers when published, should provide a great deal of new information, and if they contain exact evidence of where Captain Hempelman was in 1836 all true historians will welcome it, whether it is for Peraki or Port Cooper.'

The writer cannot hope to settle the argument, but we must remember that the worthy and able Colonel Godfrey, land commissioner, took very little notice of the Rhodes papers, or their claims at any rate. We must also remember that at a much later date W. B. Rhodes asked for indulgence about dates. He had, he stated, to depend on memory, and on one occasion he thought an event occurred in 1834 whereas 1836 was the true date. At the present stage in the argument it would seem that Mr. Taylor is in the lesser position, but it is almost certain that he has 'something up his sleeve.'

In *The Press* (Feb. 17th, 1940) Straubel quotes the log of the American whaler *Friendship,* which states that Hempelman's *Bee* was in Port Cooper in April, 1836.. 'She could not have been at Peraki for the rest of the winter and merely by chance in Port Cooper on this particular date, because her own log shows that for the whole period from February to July she did not move from this one port, and for the first six weeks was being careened while the ship's carpenter caulked her leaky seams.'

In *The Press* of February 19th and 21st, 1940, a correspondent signing himself Scavenger stated that the vessel that worked the Peraki station was not the *Bee* but was another recorded ship. The correspondent admitted that the publication of the logs of the *Nile* and the *Friendship* and Long and Wright's papers had proved McNab's guess.

As far as the writer can determine there seems to have been a permanent station at Peraki only after March, 1837.

Hempelman's land claim was based on a document dated November 2nd, 1839. 'From Mowry harbour to Flea Bay north, including Wangoolou (Akaroa), as agreed by the undermentioned, viz., by the payment of one big boat by the name of *Mary Ann*, including two sails and jib. Extent of land, 15 miles east, south inland.' It was signed by nine Maoris who never denied the sale in subsequent years. Hempelman made many trips to Wellington but officialdom was strong then as now. Colonel Campbell, the man most likely to know the truth, considered the claim valid. It is true that at one time Hempelman was offered a moderate sum to settle the claim. His refusal to accept left him in poverty.

Scholefield (6) states that Hempelman enjoyed the protection of Taiaroa, but suffered much from the depredations of Tuhawaiki and other chiefs who visited Peraki, and that Hempelman was uniformly rough on the Maoris so leading to a reprimand from Captain Stanley. He may have been rated by Stanley but Maori tradition is that the other contentions are false.

The history of Canterbury before 1840 has been recorded in *George Rhodes of the Levels*. Among the early traders were Cooper and Levy who bought flax, mutton birds, pigs, etc., as early as 1820. This firm and other Sydney merchants began to purchase land from the Maoris. In 1836 W. B. Rhodes commanded the *Australian* owned by Cooper Holt and Roberts. In this vessel Rhodes made a two-year cruise round New Zealand and other Islands. The venture was not very successful and the owners were not pleased, only about thirty whales were secured. Rhodes had invested £150 in the venture and he received one-twelfth of the profits. During his time on the coast Rhodes realised the value of the land, especially since there were indications that large bodies of settlers were coming. Hence he joined Cooper and Holt in land-buying before it was too late. Rhodes disposed of his property in Australia to enter the partnership. At the time, Cooper and Holt claimed that they had bought land in New Zealand although the Maoris sometimes thought otherwise. Among other purchases the new firm bought 100,000 acres at Akaroa from Captain Francis Leathart for £325. Leathart stated that he had bought the Akaroa land the previous February from the chief Tyroa and other natives for the sum of £40. Captain Clayton, commander of a whaling vessel, also claimed that he had bought this land from Leathart. Rhodes established a station at Red House Bay. He subsequently made large purchases in the North Island. The subsequent history of the Rhodes family is complicated though much of it admirably described in *George Rhodes of the Levels*. By 1850 they had 6508 sheep, 103 cattle and 8 horses on their Peninsula stations.

In the 'thirties extensive land buying from the Maoris began, and this was soon followed by farming ventures, the first being at Red House Bay. One of the purchases on the Plains lead to parties going to Putaringamotu (Riccarton). The second attempt was that of the Heriot party. Tradition is that the Maoris who sold the land were hostile, and after the party farmed for eight months it was forced to move from Riccarton in a hurry. It has been stated that McKinnon hid his implements in a hole by the

Avon above the present site of the Christchurch Hospital, and set out for Akaroa with his family. They drove four loose bullocks, and McKinnon carried a table on his head.

Little is known of the early farming ventures on the Plains. All were over-shadowed by the subsequent success of the Deans Brothers. The writer supposes that Pollard, the surveyor who had a hut on the site of Hagley Park in 1840, was an agent for Sydney land-buying firms.

It would seem that on April 7th, 1840, there landed at Goashore from Sydney, Messrs. Heriot and McGillivray, Mr. and Mrs. McKinnon and child (afterwards Mrs. Parkinson), Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, Ellis and Whistling Tom. Messrs. Blackett and Dodge, millers of Sydney, would seem to be the promoters of the farming venture. They brought a dray and eight bullocks. Once a fortnight one of the party went over to Ikoraki for stores—ten pounds of flour and ten pounds of meat for each man. At the time flour was £80 a ton in Sydney. After an attempt lasting eight months they left the farm at Putaringamotu (Riccarton). Later, McKinnon settled on the Peninsula, and in 1852 Thomas Ellis and Gustave Gartner, of the Golden Fleece Hotel, took up the Ashley Gorge run.

There are so many accounts of the Heriot party that the truth is unknown. Abercrombie and Co. or Blackett and Dodge were probably the promoters. They may have landed at Goashore or Ikoraki or Taumutu. It has been stated that McKinnon was the last to leave Riccarton. The reasons for leaving are given as hostility from the Maoris, fear of the Sumner bar, crop eaten by 'Maori rats,' and the lighting of grass fire round the 'house' by the Maoris. There is a persistence of the story that McKinnon carried away a table and drove four bullocks while his wife carried a one-year-old child 'on her back.' It is stated that they reached Lake Forsyth on their first day, and camped in a cave there. From there they were taken to Akaroa in a whaleboat.

The party certainly grew a good crop of wheat, about thirty acres. In the twenty years before 1840 Sydney land-buyers had agents looking at the Plains and it is extremely likely that several 'attempted' to farm.

In *George Rhodes of the Levels and his Brothers* we find some reference to the early ventures at Riccarton. 'During the *Australian's* stay in this harbour (Port Cooper) he (W. B. Rhodes) climbed to the top of what are now called the Port Hills and "saw the Plains and two pieces of bush. All the land that I saw was swamp and mostly covered with water." While the *Australian* was in Port Cooper in 1836 there were six other vessels at anchor.' This is considered to be the first recorded description of the Canterbury Plains. The logs of the *Harriet* and the *Australian* as well as contemporary letters written by W. B. Rhodes prove that he did not sail into Port Cooper before 1836, although he himself writing in 1870 gave the date as 1834. However, in this letter, which has been quoted by various writers, he asks for indulgence, 'As I have to trust in a great measure to memory, I am liable to commit some errors.' In this letter he states, also, that Underwood bought Banks Peninsula for Cooper and Levy. His earlier letters all state that the purchaser was Wiseman. . . . . One of their agents, Captain Wiseman, claimed to have purchased from the Maoris, probably about the year 1825, the whole of Banks Peninsula as well as a large area on the Plains. Cooper and Levy despatched a vessel commanded by Captain Underwood and loaded with stores, appliances and men to take possession of and work this property, but unfortunately the ship was wrecked, all on board perished, and the Maori titles were lost. The project was then abandoned. . . . . William and John Deans took up a run on the Plains in

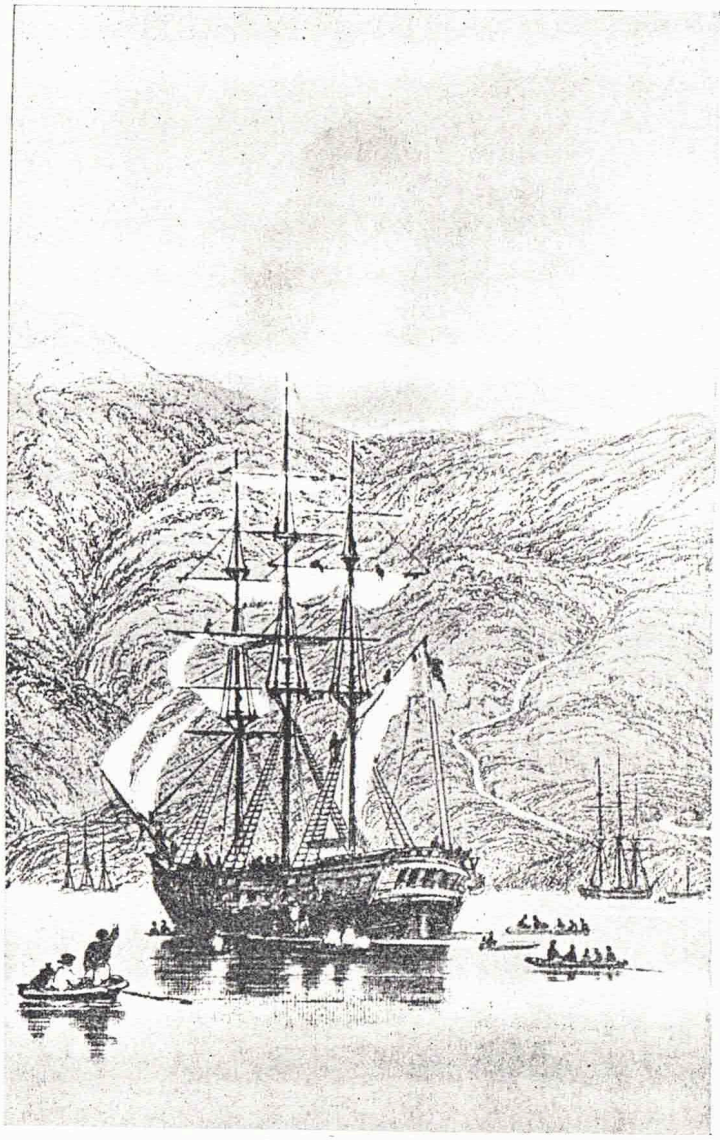
1843 which they named Riccarton. They were the third owners of this land; the first, Cooper and Levy, had lost the evidence of their purchase in Captain Underwood's ill-fated ship and had abandoned the enterprise; the second, Abercrombie and Co. of Sydney, took it over in 1840, and their agent, Malcolm McKinnon, was the first to plough land in Canterbury, but his stack of grain was devoured by rats, and the vessel sent from Sydney, with men and stores, was wrecked with all hands, so the station was once more forsaken.'

The literature relating to pre-settlement Canterbury should be based on the work of Dr. Edward Shortland, one of the most humane and cultivated men to visit the Bays. His *Southern Districts of New Zealand,* published in 1851, considered by many to be less interesting than his *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders,* is the foremost work on early European-Maori relationships. Shortland was M.A. (Cambridge 1835), and Extra-licentiate Royal College of Physicians (1839), and this early training was topped off by experiences among the North Island Maoris; the book is full of temperate criticisms and judgments. In another place in this book the writer has described Shortland's exploring and commission work. Concerning Banks Peninsula settlers, Shortland makes some adverse remarks. After a visit to Purau and Pigeon Bay, he notes the treatment of the Maoris: ' I was next assailed with complaints about the mode in which Europeans were spreading themselves over the country with their stock. . . . . The doctrine which Mr. G. advocated was, I had before remarked, a very favourite one among new comers, who landed full of the idea that there were large spaces of what they termed waste and unreclaimed land, on which their cattle and flocks might roam at pleasure, and to which they had a better right than those whose ancestors lived there, fished there, and hunted there; and had, moreover, long ago given names to every stream, hill, and valley in the neighbourhood. The older residents had learnt that, although the theory might be very convenient, it was useless to try to apply it to New Zealand." Edward Shortland was a brother of Lieutenant Willoughby. Later in life Edward became M.R.C.P. (London), practised in Auckland, and died so late as 1893 in Plymouth.

Very extended planning preceded the arrival of the Pilgrims in the *First Four Ships,* preparations more elaborate than those made for any other British colonial project.

The choice of Captain Thomas to choose the site and prepare for the settlers was remarkably lucky. Thomas had been in New Zealand before: he had been on the Otago survey and had farmed there, and he had stayed with the Deans Brothers on his way down to Otago from Nelson. When he came to choose the site for Canterbury, his leaning was for the country south of the Otago block, but an examination of the Plains with Fox soon changed his opinion. The site chosen and approved, Thomas began to lay out the settlement with the chief town as the head of Port Cooper and the port at Rapaki. History does not tell us the reasons for the replanning of the settlement, but the Deans Brothers were using the Avon to get away their produce, and Thomas may have thought that this river would give good direct access to the Plains. Captain Stokes was of the opinion that the Estuary could never be made into a satisfactory port.

When Godley arrived there was trouble between the ' two founders of Canterbury.' There were faults on both sides, and the settlement was too small for both of these able men. By subterfuge was Thomas induced to depart. Trouble again arose when the Bishop arrived in February, 1851. Realising that under the Association plan the Bishop was out of the control



CRESSY (Miss M. Townsend)

of the chief agent, Godley wrote to the Association resigning his position. The ecclesiastical side caused concern for some years and it was not till 1855 that Bishop Harper was prevailed upon to take the office. That the affairs of early Canterbury were somewhat choppy can be seen from Godley's letter of June 10th, 1851, outlining his grievances, the chief grievance being his lack of control over the bishop-designate, Dr. Thomas Jackson. Captain Thomas was responsible, more than any other man, for the geographical site of Canterbury, and no man could have done more in preparing for the settlers. If statues mean anything, one should be erected to preserve the memory of his work.

In 1850, Port Cooper presented to the Pilgrims a scene 'animated' by the presence of white men and their wives, shops and hotels. The two young Hays, astride the rails of a stockyard, noted the approach of a three-masted ship past the Pigeon Bay heads. The *Phoebe Dunbar* had previously arrived with the information that the Pilgrims were coming. Farr walked over from Akaroa to welcome the new arrivals, and the surveyors and pioneers noted the approach with interest. Such workmen as were left had a reasonable excuse for leaning on their shovels. Many of the Pilgrims were 'new-chums' but they soon came to appreciate the worth of the pre-Adamites. Some of them may have spoken rather clerically of the 'Two Deans,' but practical experience soon led to a better understanding of colonial ways. The majority helped to improve on the foundations so creating the most successful settlement in British colonial history.

Perhaps the best short description of the arrival of the *First Four Ships* is in Charlotte Godley's *Letters*. When Fitzgerald stepped off the *Cressy* she found him 'so altered by a sailor's dress, an immense straw hat, very hollow cheeks, a ferocious moustache, and a lame leg.' And we must all wonder what Governor Grey and his wife thought of the Pilgrims: he had had so much Colonial experience.

The time has now come when we can write about the early politics of the Pilgrims without prejudice. Henry Sewell's papers are now in the Turnbull Library and Charlotte Godley's *Letters from Early New Zealand* is available. We regret the absence of a second volume of *The Founders of Canterbury,* but this project was before its time. Charlotte Godley is not indiscreet in the modern sense, but very much so for 1850. Speaking of Government House she says, 'It was stiff, hot work sitting as I did in a very hot room, inventing conversation, opposite the two Lady Governors who dont love each other at all, but were both very civil to us.' The Godleys arrived at Dunedin in April, 1850, and soon arrived at Lyttelton to stay a day before going on to Wellington, then the hub of society. Even so Thomas had 'six rooms and a kind of pantry' ready for Godley. When they returned about sixty houses could be counted from the deck and there was something of a garden at the new chief agent's house. Of course the conditions at Lyttelton were 'chaotic' in the mind of an English society woman, but they were soon calling on the Deans, and camping under the care of Boys and Torlesse. On the arrival of the *Fly,* Lady Grey was a guest. The *Letters* record the bachelor's picnic at Purau, rather surprising since Quail Island was the recognised picnic resort. The first ball at the barracks reads well, as also does the first regatta in 1851. The Colonists' Society was being started by Godley in 1852. But the *Letters* record the details of housekeeping, William the 'valet' and Powles the lady's maid, the loss of little Arthur's blue trousers 'put bodily on the (camp) fire by his father with the branch on which they were hung,' the bit of real Brussels carpet brought down from Wellington, the large tea parties almost

every evening, and 'the spare room of Lyttelton.' Powles and William were brought out from England but the former soon became a 'general,' though William managed to retain his severe grandeur. The first ball went on till three, when a severe wind filled the unlined barracks with dust. In 1851 Lyttelton was very gay and the Godley's ordered a dozen chairs from Sydney. They camped a good deal at the end of the garden at the Deans, a favourite camping place and a rest from social duties at Lyttelton.

Mr. A. H. Johnstone states that *Letters from Early New Zealand* is an extremely rare book. The Godley's son, little John Arthur, was afterwards the first Lord Kilbracken. Mrs. Godley describes Captain Cargill as a funny-looking little old man with a very large head, covered with thick upright white hair that had been red. There was also a white frill of it under his chin. The Lyttelton cabbages and potatoes were the finest she had ever tasted: 'We had them for breakfast, dinner, and luncheon.' She describes the trial and execution of Good, who had killed and packed a boy in a cask, and then entertained the friends whom the boy had invited to visit the ship. She is grieved to find Captain Stokes wearing an unsailor-like moustache and his manner and appearance were against him. Captain Mitchell, one of those who found a 'track' from Nelson to Canterbury, visited the Godleys on July 1st. She describes a camping trip to Harewood Forest and a pig-hunt on the way home. Messrs. Weld, Torlesse, Boys, E. J. Wakefield, and Hunter-Brown are mentioned. They camped at Courtenay the first night and here Mr. Weld left them to walk up to Flaxbourne.

Mrs. Godley mentions Bishop Jackson. Her husband appreciated the Bishop's great cleverness as a land-salesman and his eloquence, but thought he would make a poor Bishop. By May, 1851, Godley was tiring of his work: the Pilgrims were reminding him of the 'promises' made at Home by Bishop Jackson and others, and the Wellington *Spectator* was attacking his administration of the settlement. In June the two Wards were drowned in the harbour and the youngest brother, aged sixteen, was taken into the Godleys' care. The champagne dinner party on the *Travancore* is mentioned. The Queen's birthday sports and regatta is described (May 24th). By August, Sir George Grey was attacking the Canterbury Settlement. He had vetoed almost everything proposed by Lieutenant-Governor Eyre. Godley resigned his post as Resident Magistrate and Governor Grey appointed Simeon. The 323 pages of *Letters from Early New Zealand* are a mine of information ranking in value with the unpublished diary of Henry Sewell.

Joseph Crocombe, the first resident doctor in the South Island, arrived at Otakau in 1836 to attend to the whalers. Johnny Jones persuaded him to come back to Waikouaiti in 1838, and he died there on February 23rd, 1874. He is buried in the little churchyard on the hill just out of the town.

The first doctors in Canterbury came in whaling ships to Banks Peninsula. There are few exact records of their activities, but it is certain that many of the whalers carried surgeons, especially the French and Bremen whalers, and on occasions these doctors exerted their skill on the settlers in the Bays.

When the Weller Brother records are published it is likely that some information will be available. The Wellers definitely used Port Cooper and Port Levy during the years 1835 and 1836. The possessor of the Weller documents will not engage in controversy with amateur historians at the present time. Perhaps the Wellers were at Port Cooper in 1834.

Mr. Thomas White has described a murder at Port Levy. A Dutch whaling ship was there and the carpenter shot the mate. His narrative goes on to say, 'Word was sent to Wellington, but the ship was away before any steps were taken, and so nothing was done. Had the doctor of the ship remained behind, no doubt the man would have been hung.' Even in those days doctors and, above all, sea captains were astute. Good men were hard to come by. Why not cut the loss and put to sea?

The writer does not know whether the records of Sydney trading firms have been searched for early Canterbury history. These firms were the first traders, the first land-buyers, and the first farmers on the plains.

French ships at Akaroa, especially the men-of-war, carried medical personnel. Records of the French doctors who visited Akaroa are hard to obtain—few of the French narratives have been translated. We are apt to forget that France was well up in New Zealand affairs years before there was any Canterbury Association. Thus we note that in 1813 Freycinet and Faujas St Fond cultured flax in France and made ropes from their plants. Many educated and cultured men came in the French men-of-war.

In 1843 the surgeons of *Le Rhin* were le Vicomte de la Perrotiere and Fabre Tonnere. In 1845 or 1846 Docteur Renaut of *Le Rhin* fought a duel on the present site of Lavaud Street. The great Captain Berard was the commander; gratuitously, this officer kept out of sight until he heard the noise of the shots. Tradition is that as usual the duel arose from some trifling discourtesy.

Raoul, an enthusiastic botanist, was the surgeon in the frigate *Aube*. The writer cannot find any record of his medical activities, but his botanical excursions were notable and his name is attached to several species.

Surgeons came with the French emigrants as also did priests. The English emigrant ship the *Monarch* carried a surgeon. French officers were rather bored with the 'station' and many of the officers lived ashore at times. *Le Rhin* was much about Akaroa, and Meryon, the sketcher and subsequent etcher, lived ashore for weeks at a time.

DOCTOR BUTLER OF AKAROA

There must have been resident doctors at Akaroa before 1850, but there is only one record of their presence there. One of the Birdling family told the writer of Doctor Butler, and reference to James Hay's book (20) revealed the following information. 'Doctor Butler practised his profession as a medical man in Akaroa during 1845 and 1846. Leaving Akaroa, he settled in Wellington. Mrs Butler was a sister of the first Mrs William Boag of Burnside, Christchurch. . . . . Miss Ann Firmagem came to Pigeon Bay in 1844-45. She remained nine years in the Bay, and then married Mr Wm. Boag of Burnside.'

In Louis E. Ward's *Early Wellington* it is stated that Mr Sam Furmager with his wife and five children came out in the *Arab* in 1841, and the death of the wife of Sam Furmager in Wellington in 1842 is noted in the same book. The writer presumes that these were the relations of the doctor's wife.

The descendants of the first Mrs Boag have little knowledge of the doctor. Mrs Riach, a daughter of the late A. Selwyn Bruce and a granddaughter of Mrs Boag, told the writer that her antecedents came from London, but were, she thought, of Dutch origin. At one time it was suggested to A. Selwyn Bruce that there was a Butler estate in chancery, but

the reply from the Chancery Office was that they had no pertinent record.

The first doctor in Timaru was a Doctor Butler who went to George Rhodes on the recommendation of Alfred Cox in 1858, and died there about 1870 'in harness.' There is no record of Doctor Logan, the friend of the Hays so well described in *New Zealand Memories*, ever being on Banks Peninsula, but it is almost certain that he was a visitor to Pigeon Bay in the 'forties.'

DOCTOR WILLIAM DONALD

Doctor Donald was in Lyttelton before the Pilgrims. The death of a member of one of the surveying parties under Mr Cass led to the doctor being sent from Wellington to practise at Lyttelton. In a letter dated Sept. 11th, 1849, Captain Thomas, after setting out the circumstances of the death, asked Mr W. Fox, the New Zealand Company's principal agent at Wellington, to send a medical man to Lyttelton. Thomas wrote, 'Considering that we have now over one hundred men at work, and that this number is almost daily increasing, I would suggest the propriety of your sending us a medical officer from Wellington. He must bring his own drugs, and can obtain permission to put up a house.' The men working on the Sumner Road were paid whether working or laid up through illness, a lesser wage if they were ill. Many of them were Maoris. It may have occurred to Thomas that some of the time lost through illness could be reduced. Mr Fox acted quickly and on Nov. 14th, 1849 Thomas reported the arrival of the doctor. He was just the man for the work.

Donald was born in 1815 in London of Scottish parents. He was at a London medical school, and was for a time in practice there, and had some training in France. He was surgeon to railway construction companies in France and later in Wales. He came out in 1849 in the *Cornwall* landing in Taranaki, thence to Nelson, and Wellington, and finally to Lyttelton. He died on June 29th, 1884 thus living out the whole of the pioneering epoch. He married Miss Townsend. He was responsible for the establishment of the Lyttelton Hospital, later known as the Casualty Ward. From 1861 to 1881 he was the Resident Magistrate. He represented Lyttelton in the Provincial Council from 1855 to 1857, and was chairman of the Municipal Council from 1862 to 1865. He was one of the founders of the Lyttelton masonic lodge; from 1868 till 1884 he was provincial grand master. Dr. P. C. Fenwick says, 'To his qualifications as a medical man, Dr. Donald added others which were of great value in a young community. In 1853 he was an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in the first Provincial Council. As a result of a lengthy letter addressed by him to the Superintendent of the Province, on the necessity for a water supply for Lyttelton Dr. Donald's efforts were rewarded by six public pumps being installed. He was president of the Lyttelton Colonists' Society and also filled the offices of coroner, visiting justice, inspector of cattle, inspector of immigrants, and in 1861 he was gazetted Resident Magistrate of Lyttelton. He also held office as churchwarden, and as a church property trustee. Naturally a man so varied sometimes caused amusement in the discharge of his divers duties. It is narrated that a visitor to Lyttelton was hospitably entertained by the Colonists' Society under Dr. Donald's presidency; having succumbed to more hospitality afterwards, he made acquaintance of the Resident Magistrate, Dr Donald, the next morning, and was fined the customary five shillings. The following day being Sunday, the visitor attended church and contributed half-a-crown to the offertory bag

Rees. 28 July 1863 p. 2 – delightful spoof.'

and died 'by visitation of Donald'.

which was handed round by the churchwarden, Dr. Donald. With more appropriateness than the monarch who asserted: 'The State? It is I.' Dr. Donald could have said: 'Lyttelton? I am Lyttelton!' The doctor was a Scot so no doubt the remark would have been appropriate. In the early days of Christchurch the swampy nature of the town was not conducive to health. Patients from the country had to be nursed in hotels which was of course a disadvantage especially in accident cases. Dr. Fenwick says, 'That the Christchurch Hospital did not take actual form till 1862 through any lack of foresight, is abundantly clear. The founders of the province, as those who now inhabit it have every reason to know, overlooked little that was essential for the equipment of what they firmly believed would develop into a densely populated and prosperous settlement. There were, however, heavy demands on the funds available for pioneer works to open up the country and to make the site of the future city more habitable, that were more pressing than expenditure on hospital buildings, and on providing the necessary staffs.' 'We must remember that the majority of people in the fifties considered illness as rather a disgrace. To-day we seem to eulogise it. For information about the Christchurch Hospital and the proposed Medical School the reader is referred to Doctor Fenwick's book *The History of the North Canterbury Hospital Board.*

The first hospital was at Lyttelton and patients were conveyed from Christchurch. The hospital at Lyttelton did well. In 1853 a Mr. Wheeler was paid £2 for conveying a patient to Lyttelton. In early records Doctor Donald is referred to as the 'Provincial Surgeon.' In 1853 it was estimated that a nurse should be appointed at £66 a year out of which she was to pay a boy to fetch wood and water. An extra nurse received £10, and the surgeon was paid £150 per annum. Unfortunately we do not know when the hospital began. In another place in these notes I have mentioned the fact that before Provincial Government began in 1853 most things in Canterbury were governed by Godley representing the Canterbury Association and the 'Society of Land Purchasers.' There is, however, evidence that a hospital was in existence before the arrival of the Pilgrims. We note the capable 'hand' of Doctor Donald. At the present time (1946) we have, in Christchurch, an equally capable doctor who will inaugurate and direct a new modern hospital.

In the fifties lunatics as well as prisoners were kept in the Lyttelton Gaol and in 1858 the gaoler at the time, James Reston reported eight of the former and 21 of the latter as being under his care. On Jan. 15th, 1859, Doctor Donald, the magistrate, and Reston called attention to the damp conditions of the gaol, and on the treatment of a prisoner, the celebrated Ronnage, who was heavily ironed and suffered by sores caused by them. He had been imprisoned on one occasion for many months before Judge Stephens could be spared from Wellington to hold the trial on his case in Christchurch.

Doctor Donald had great influence with the Maoris: an extract from the writings of W. A. Taylor illustrates this point. He says, 'Paora Taki the writings of W. A. Taylor illustrates this point. He says, 'Paora Taki represented the Maoris of Rapaki officially when Governor Sir William Jervois visited Lyttelton on February 20th, 1883. I am of the opinion that the Maoris of the Paora Taki type have a mentality superior to the average Anglo-Saxon folk and I see a golden thread running through the following letter which Paoro wrote on February 28, 1879, when his friend Dr. Donald was leaving on a trip to Britain: "Go then my letter of love to Father Donald. This is my farewell to you about to be parted from me. Rapaki will be full of trouble now you are gone. Go then, sir, to the

Queen. Farewell to you, the skilful healer of diseases among the Maoris. Not one patient has ever slipped from your grasp all the years past. Return, sir, to your nation, return to the place where all great things originated that God has made. This is all from your friend,—Paora Taki." '

In December 1884 S. C. Farr was in London making his headquarters at the Savage Club. In the *New Zealand Country Journal* (1885) he records his meeting Dr. Tegetmeier, F.Z.S., 'who in one of our conversations informed me that he was in partnership with the late Dr. Donald, of Lyttelton, previous to his leaving for the Colonies, he said they had met in London some three years since, and wound up all their mutual affairs, and when I told him of his death, he feelingly expressed surprise and his deep regret.'

It was only natural that Dr. Donald should be associated with the Rhodes family. He attended George Rhodes in his fatal illness at Purau in 1864, and he acted as a trustee in his estate. Rhodes caught a chill while dipping sheep. 'This work was done in a stream dammed up for the purpose, in which the men worked up to their waists in water.' This was in winter time—June, 1864. Rhodes was 47 when he died—a sad loss to Canterbury. 'All the Maoris cried for Tioti when he died,' said Hoani Kahu's daughter to me. 'He good man, like our own father.' (*George Rhodes of The Levels and his Brothers.*)

In *Tales of Pioneer Women* there are some references to Dr. Ben Moorhouse (the elder), D. Morice of Greymouth, Dr. Smith of Greymouth and Doctor Donald. It is recorded of one of the doctor's inspections of ships arriving at Lyttelton, 'When Dr. Donald, the Health Officer, saw the state of the ship, he rolled his trousers up, the dirt was so terrible, and wisely put everyone into quarantine for three weeks.'

I have such a high opinion of Captain Thomas and Doctor Donald that I feel they must have been early in the field of preventative medicine. Both were experienced men without any trace of 'new chum' and both were used to dealing with large bodies of working men.

Speaking of the year 1850 Thomas says: 'As Mr Godley and I seldom met, except on business, I was in hopes I might be allowed to go on with the work over which I presided, without molestation on his part, and that the twelve months might thus wear away. But I was quickly undeceived; my employment having been for some time in the town (Lyttelton), I occupied a small house originally intended for the boats crew. On the arrival of the emigrants, I was ordered to quit this house, when I removed to a room in the store, where I lived with great inconvenience (the place being too small for the papers, maps, etc). The inconvenience, however, was rendered greater, and the place more unpleasant, by Mr Godley sending the dirty hospital bedding, and utensils therein. This annoyance was personal and disagreeable enough; but Mr Godley also annoyed me by constant interferences with the working people employed on the roads and buildings.'

This letter is a record of a hospital at Lyttelton in 1850. It may have been started before that date. Perhaps there was a hospital at Akaroa before 1850.

LYTTELTON HOSPITAL

For some years after 1849 the Canterbury Association 'governed' most happenings about Lyttelton and Christchurch. Before the arrival of Godley, Captain Thomas was in full charge ruling wisely and with force, Apparently, he considered Fox to be his superior. The writer has already recorded how Doctor Donald came to Lyttelton; he arrived in November, 1849. Godley arrived in the middle of 1850 to stay only a day or two, departing for the more comfortable town of Wellington to await events. After the arrival of the *First Four Ships*, the Society of Land Purchasers assisted Godley to rule the settlement until provincial government came into being in 1853. The Governor, of course, was a power in the land, but the Association claimed that it was not wholly under his jurisdiction.

The first hospital was at Lyttelton and the Christchurch Hospital is its lineal descendant. The writer is indebted to Miss Norris and W. A. Taylor for information from old records. Both Thomas and Donald were used to dealing with large numbers of working men, and so it was that a hospital was started before 1850.

Captain Thomas was originally a military man but, gripped by a love of adventure and a dislike of civilisation, he adopted a roving life. He was undoubtedly passionate and overbearing and brooked little opposition. His ability was never in question since he was a clever surveyor and a man of vigour and determination, and his multifarious duties in connection with Canterbury were pursued with great success. Thomas Cass has related how Thomas would sketch a bridge or other design on the top of a box or table with his pipe dipped in a pot of beer, and, when dry, this was understood to be a capital working plan for his assistants. He had had previous experience of surveying and farming in Otago and in other parts of New Zealand.

The site of the first hospital is not known. Early sketches of Lyttelton show a hospital behind the immigration barracks below the Sumner-Lyttelton road.

On August 22nd, 1851, the Canterbury Association began to negotiate with the Rev. O. Mathias for the lease of his house on section 324 at a rental of £40 per annum, and the lease was finalised on November 25th 1851. This is usually called the First Hospital. Mrs Snelling was installed as Matron and Doctor Donald was in charge. On January 1st, 1853, Mrs Anne Roberts became Matron. In all Doctor Donald's reports he spoke highly of her work. After 1853 the Doctor is referred to as 'Provincial Surgeon' with a salary of £150 per annum, and the Matron received £66 per annum out of which she was to pay a boy to fetch wood and water. An extra nurse received £10. By 1853 provincial government was in being but Lyttelton was the principal town. There being no hospital at Christchurch, patients were taken over to Lyttelton. A Mr Wheeler was paid £2 for taking a patient over and this was apparently the standard charge. The Provincial Government took control of the Hospital after 1853. The matron never had less than six patients to look after and there was no private room for the Matron. The hospital was leaky in roof and walls, and in 1854 this gave great cause for complaint. Owing to this and her conditions of work Mrs Roberts threatened to resign. Doctor Donald pointed out the difficulty of finding anyone to replace her. When the lease of the building was nearing expiry the doctor recommended the building of a new hospital or the acquisition of a more suitable building. As there was no mental asylum patients of unsound mind had to be admitted and these caused considerable damage to the fabric. The Provincial Government was called upon to pay for the damage to Mr C. E. Dampier, who was agent for the Rev. O. Mathias. The Government failed to get the lunatics placed in the Auckland Asylum, and they were ultimately lodged in the Lyttelton Gaol.

In the Lyttelton town plan of 1851, section 29 at the corner of Coleridge and London Streets had been set aside for a hospital, but the site being totally unsuitable a hospital was never built on this reserved section. Later, in 1854, Doctor Donald reported that this section was not isolated enough being buried in a gully and away from good water. The section was sold in November, 1855.

On November 9th, 1854, Doctor Donald made arrangements with Mr Henry Sewell to buy the old Customs House building, on which repairs had been effected and additions made by Mutton the building contractor at a cost of £119/14/-. The patients were removed to this hospital from the old leaky hospital. Another record relates that a further £127 was spent on alterations and additions. Within a year the new hospital was too small for the rapidly growing population.

In 1855 Mrs Robert resigned and was followed by Mrs Harriet Simpson who held the position till March 3rd, 1862, when she became the wife of Captain Preece. Mrs Simpson was a kindly soul—she 'adopted' three orphan children though she had a daughter of the first marriage. During Mrs Simpson's term the hospital was badly damaged by a fire at Tribe's store next door. Repairs to the hospital were effected by Messrs Salt and Mutton.

Shortage of hospital beds was as common then as now. In the Provincial Council, Mr Ollivier, when appealing for a hospital at Christchurch said that the so-called hospital at Lyttelton was so crowded that beds had to be made up in the passages. A return of lunatics for one year shows the causes of lunacy as being 'apparently from drink' in 9 male cases, from solitude on out-stations in the case of two males, from injury to the head in the case of three males, from unknown causes one male, and in the case of five females the causes were unknown or undetermined. Mrs Simpson was replaced by Mrs Louisa Gahagan, a most efficient nurse, but she was unable to retain her position due to her husband's behaviour. On December 3rd, 1863 Mrs Maria Edmiston of Auckland was appointed Matron.

A record shows that in 1852, three acres of land, part of rural section 247, fronting the Governor's Bay road, was bought for a hospital but apparently nothing was done towards building on the site. A crown grant dated July 5th, 1856 shows that arrangements were made with Joseph Blaymires for the purchase of sections 212 and 213 on Brittan Terrace, and the conveyance thereof to the Superintendent of Canterbury. The land, three acres 9 perches, was taken over in 1862 or 1863 for £961/17/6 being at the rate of £300 per acre plus six months interest. The Lyttelton Municipal Council was constituted in 1862, and in that year voted £2000 (?£200) for a new hospital. The Provincial Government voted £920 towards the land, later another '£500, and again £291. The hospital building was completed on Dec. 7th, 1863 at a total cost of £1793/19/6. The Provincial architects, Mountfort and Luck, were the designers, though C. M. Igglesden seems to have been one of the designers. England Brothers were the contractors, and most of the timber came from Tasmania though some came from French Farm. The staff consisted of Mrs Edmiston (Matron) £75, Mrs. Trounce (Head Nurse) £40, Under Nurse £30, Cook £30, General servant £25. I. A. Rouse was appointed Dispenser at £100, he to find all medicines required.

Dr. Donald was instructed to sell the old hospital. The site was wanted for a new customs house. It was eventually sold for £32 provided no time was lost in removal.

In 1864 additions became necessary, and Igglesden submitted plans and specifications for a fever ward, kitchen and dead house, estimated at £1,140. These were rejected by the Government and a more modest scheme was submitted representing an outlay of £360, but this was likewise vetoed. Further pruning was made and specifications estimated at less than £500 were accepted and advertised.

In February, 1865 Dr. Donald reported that there were 24 male and two female patients, and he strongly recommended that a pint of beer should be given daily to each nurse. The monthly average in hospital was 20. In 1866 the causes of death were malignant disease of the pharynx, hypertrophy of the heart, chronic disease of the rectum, hæmatemesis (aneurism), and in 1867, accident, laceration of the kidney, fracture of femur, libra, pelvis, malar bone and phthisis.

In 1866 the Lyttelton Town Board made strenuous efforts to obtain control of the hospital, and petitioned the Superintendent, but the proposal was vetoed by the Provincial Government.

Mrs Edmiston resigned on April 30th, 1868 and was succeeded by her able assistant, Mrs Trounce, but the latter was disappointed when a reduced salary was paid in July, 1868. The staff had had no warning of any reduction and unanimously objected. The Matron then resigned and Mrs Scanlon was appointed on February 2nd, 1869.

Towards the end of 1869 the Superintendent instructed Dr. Donald to dismiss the staff. On Dec. 8th, 1869 a decision to close the hospital was reached. Only the Matron (Mrs Scanlon) was retained till June 30th, 1870 when the hospital was converted into the Orphanage. On the day of closing there were four patients, two nearly cured and two incurable. The last two patients were Thomas Peati and Henry Domett. J. E. March the Secretary to the Immigration Department, made arrangements with Hawkins, the ration contractor to the Christchurch Hospital to supply rations to Peati and Domett, who were transferred to the Immigration Barracks. An inventory of stores, furniture, equipment etc., was made by Mr March, and most of the material was selected by Dr Burrell Parkerson Junr. for the Christchurch Hospital, while the remainder went to the Immigration Barracks.

The Accident Ward at Lyttelton was ready for use on Oct. 24th, 1870, and from that time it was known as the Lyttelton Casualty Ward. After August 1870 the old hospital became known as the Canterbury Orphanage Asylum. The Canterbury Orphanage developed into the Waltham Orphanage, and in 1940 the name was changed to The Children's Home, Waltham.

Writing about the Lyttelton Hospital, W. A. Taylor remarks, 'The first case in the Lyttelton Hospital was a maternity one, and the last two patients of 1870 were two old incurables. Looking back over the years, one cannot but feel that the closing of the hospital was not justified. . . . . When Mrs Edmiston's only daughter was married, a small social gathering was held at the hospital with the full approval of the patients. Then, as now, there were busybodies, and a letter to his Honour the Superintendent of Canterbury accused Doctor Donald of dancing the polka. The douce Doctor Donald, remembered in Lyttelton by an older generation, replied very effectively on February 21st, 1866, that he could not dance.'

The first Christchurch Hospital was opened on June 1st, 1862, with Doctor Burrell Parkerson as Surgeon, and Dr. Silas Stedman as Physician, at salaries of £300 per annum each. Horatio Bunting and his wife were

appointed Master and Matron, J. Dalgleish as Dispenser, a married couple to do odd work and a cook. Mrs Bunting continued to act as Matron until Mrs Harvey succeeded her. At that time the Dispenser resigned and W. R. Cooke was appointed in his place. From May, 1862 to July, 1863 there were 214 patients. In 1863 Dr. Stedman was given sole charge at a salary of £900 per annum. The census of 1864 showed the population of Canterbury to be 32,276, males 18,931 and females 13,345.

Doctor Donald died on June 28th, 1884, but it is remarkable that the subsequent history of Captain Thomas is unknown. Hocken states that after a wandering life, Thomas retired to a suburb of Melbourne where he died. L. G. D. Acland has recorded that his grandfather, Robert Waitt, wrote a pamphlet *The Progress of Canterbury* in 1858 in the form of a letter to Thomas. Waitt and Thomas were friends in Lyttelton before the *First Four Ships*. Together they explored North Canterbury.

There is some evidence which suggests that the Lyttelton Hospital was, for the times, a very up-to-date institution. In March, 1945, Dr. F. J. Gwynne stated that before 1886 all the waste from the Auckland Hospital was emptied into the Grafton Gully; in that year the hospital was connected to the city sewer. The water supply for the Hospital was first obtained from a spring and this source was later developed into a well 70 feet deep, and it was not till 1883 that the hospital was connected to the Khyber Pass Road reservoir.

In the early days the immigration depot and quarantine station was at Camp Bay, near Little Port Cooper, where the neglected cemetery of the unfortunates can be seen. Before that time Doctor Donald would quarantine the ship. In the late Provincial days the barracks and quarantine station were moved to Ripa Island, and in the late eighties Ripa Island became a military area with the establishment of a quarantine at Quail Island. For a time convicts were kept at Ripa Island and on June 8th, 1888 the celebrated Jonathan Roberts escaped from here. In the *Ellesmere Guardian* (August 18th, 1944) can be found a history of Ripapa Island by W. A. Taylor.

The *Weekly Press Jubilee Number* (December 15th, 1900) is a mine of information.

A photograph of George Robinson Clough, the second son of the pakeha-Maori, is of great interest. He stands with a hare in his hand and with Scottish head-gear. Known for many years as a champion wrestler, it is stated that he could load grain carrying two sacks comfortably. The writer was astounded on reading, in the Acland papers, that Abner, his elder brother could give him a good 'hiding.' Perhaps it was only natural since Abner was only eighteen at the time.

A photograph depicts Mrs William Norman who came out with her husband in Doctor Richard's party in the *Sir George Seymour*, and there is also a photograph of the doctor's wife.

One of Doctor Barker's photographs shows Dr. Ben Moorhouse and his family in front of the Shepherd's Bush house, and another is of the Cracroft Wilson family. The doctor's 'travelling medium' is also shown. In the early days travelling mediums were not uncommon.

The strong face of Mrs Peter Brown, one of the earliest settlers in the Bays, catches the eye, as also does the striking figure of Watts Russell of Ilam, and the head of J. S. Caverhill.

Edward Jollie records that in 1845 he went over to Nelson from Port Nicholson in the Government brig *Victoria*, master Captain Richards. The second mate was Mr. Thomas Cass, afterwards Chief Surveyor of Canterbury.

The writer has been informed that Doctor Back, whose photograph is seen in many early records, was manager of the railways and that he lived at Holmwood in Fendalton.

There are fine photographs of Dr. Donald, Dr. Fisher, Dr. J. T. Rouse, Dr. Earle, Mrs Earle, Mrs Donald, Dr. Powell, Dr. Rayner, Dr. J. S. Turnbull, and, of course, Dr. Barker.

Mr A. McPhail records that the first European child born in Canterbury was a Hempleman born on the brig *Bee* in Little Port Cooper, the second was Peter Green born in Akaroa, the third Catherine McKinnon born in Onuke, Akaroa, May, 1842, the fourth Jeannie Manson born at Riccarton 1844 and the fifth Miss Gebbie (Mrs John Williams). The first child born after the arrival of the *First Four Ships* was Miss Thacker, born February 23rd, 1851.

AFTER THE PILGRIMS

We cannot hope to recapture the wonder and spirit of the Canterbury Pilgrims who saw their new land at the end of 1850 from the top of the Port Hills; many of them described their reactions, some based on experience of Switzerland, but no really satisfying account has descended to modern times. In 1849, Bishop Selwyn, with some years experience, wrote a humorous letter to *The Times* assuring its readers that there was 'no fear of the children breaking their necks in bird nesting. . . . . Fine country for a handy man that can do without a fire. . . . . Town sections let for quail shooting.' He noted the bare plains, the views, and, above all, the native quail; if he had mentioned the nor'westers, his account would have been almost sufficient. Many of the Pilgrims were new chums but Captain Thomas's preparations were well forward; Port Cooper could not be called a gay place but amenities had raised it to the status of a colonial township.

The modern conception that bush destruction and soil erosion are of late date is much too conservative; soil depletion began early. In the year 1850 there were about fifteen hundred acres of bush on the plains within twenty miles of Christchurch, well covered foot-hills, and an almost complete covering on Banks Peninsula. Within fifteen years much of the plains bush has gone; 500 acres of Maori bush just north of Kaiapoi, 180 acres of Church bush, 500 acres at Rangiora, a small area at Ohoka, 200 acres at Papanui, and 100 acres at Riccarton fell to fires and cutting. The *Lyttelton Times* of January 1st, 1865 stated that, 'Almost the last tree of the Papanui forest, on which Christchurch for several years has depended, has fallen.' There may have been an 'urgent necessity' for the cutting of Papanui Bush and part of Riccarton, but nothing can excuse the wholesale removal of Rangiora, Kaiapoi and the bush on the Peninsula. The Deans family, far-seeing as one would expect, preserved part of the Riccarton Bush, now a public reserve.

Travellers and tourists as well as settlers compare the natural features of a country with those of other countries. In Canterbury the early settlers likened the 'Snowy Hills' to the Jura, and the early Scotch settlers soon found Highland comparisons, but in Mount Egmont we have the striking similarity to the sacred Fujiyama. Japanese sailors have gone down on their knees in worship, and when Admiral Imamura was in New Zealand he set his course for a close view of the mountain.

Samuel Butler was one of those who attempted a description of the view from the Port Hills. 'At last we near the top, and look down upon

the plain bounded by the distant Appenines, that run through the middle of the island. Near at hand, at the foot of the hill, we saw a few pretty little box-like houses in trim, pretty little gardens, stacks of corn and fields, a little river with a craft or two lying near a wharf, whilst the nearer country was squared into many-coloured fields. But, after all, the view was rather of the 'long stare' description. There was a great extent of country, but very few objects to attract the eye and make it rest any while in any given direction. The mountains wanted outlines; they were not broken up into fine forms like the Carnarvonshire mountains, but rather a long, blue, lofty, even line, like the Jura from Geneva or the Berwyn from Shrewsbury. . . . . I must confess that the view, though undoubtedly fine rather disappointed me. The one in the direction of the harbour was infinitely superior.'

When the Pilgrims referred to the 'Snowy Hills' they meant the higher front ranges including Mount Torlesse, Mount Hutt and other mountains usually carrying snow for some months of the year. The Southern Alps, as represented by the mountains of the divide and outliers, were not referred to. Butler makes a mistake when he mentions the 'Appenines.'

The Pilgrims owe much to the 'Two Deans.' The newcomers flocked to Riccarton being the only settled 'homestead' on the Plains. Sometimes fifty to a hundred would come in a day and all were tired and hungry. Poor Mrs Todd had to feed them—no easy matter in those days when provisions were all home-made. It is recorded that Mrs Todd, with her own young family to attend to, had to compromise—she asked for flour and meat, the visitors to cook for themselves.

G. M. Thomson makes little reference to introduced flora in Canterbury. The Maoris cultivated many vegetables though there is no mention of fruit in the South Island. Hempleman's log refers to the garden but Peraki does not seem to have been well planted. The arrival of the French settlers at Akaroa in 1840 marked the onset of gardening as we know it to-day. After 1840 Wellington was naturally the source of most introductions though some seem to have come from North Auckland.

The pre-Adamite settlers had good gardens. The Deans, the Rhodes, the Hays and the Sinclairs have all recorded gardens. Plums, pears and apples were doing well at Riccarton after 1845, probably introduced from Nelson. The introduction of cocksfoot has been attributed to Hay but others have stated that this early cocksfoot was in reality mis-named. Cabbage Wilson claimed the credit several years later.

After the Pilgrims came gardening went ahead. A record states that, 'Norway and Italian poplars were brought to Canterbury by Mr Phillips of Rockwood in 1851, the red currant and passion flower arriving about the same time—the latter from Auckland.' T. H. Potts and Marmaduke Dixon brought out specially made cases of English and other European plants including azaleas and rhododendrons. Potts began a garden in Tuam Street. He also brought out 'ferns and trees after making enquiries from Kew as to the most suitable plants to grow round the settlers' homes.' Henry Phillips was 'also responsible with Sir Cracroft Wilson for some of the earliest rhododendrons, specimens of which were planted in the garden of the Rev. H. Jacobs and on little St. Michael's Island nearby.'

A writer in the *Star-Sun* (Nov. 14th, 1945) stated that the elm, the oak, the ash and the beech were first grown by Mr Deans. Red currant is recorded as coming in 1857. Selwyn Bruce states that broom, gorse and willow were first introduced by Cabbage Wilson. The writer in the *Star-Sun* mentions the Ilam garden, Mrs Cookson's strawberries and cream, the

gooseberry garden in Worcester Street, Archdeacon Mathias's garden in the Riccarton Road and the Cholmondeley's garden at Governors Bay. In 1853 there was a show in Market Square and there must have been good cattle because it is always referred to as 'the cattle show.' In 1857 there was a notable show referred to in many diaries and it is recorded that, 'Mr Andrew Duncan exhibited a plant of lillium auratum, the first grown in Canterbury . . . . . and the West Coast ferns and the greenhouse exhibited by Mr Gould attracted much attention.'

In the early days of planting, the blue gum was everybody's favourite When nothing good can be said of a man, it could always be said that he imported from Australia. At one time the chief nurserymen in Christchurch were Cabbage Wilson who controlled the sale of gum seeds and Mr Stewart. In 1864, Wilson said, 'The credit of introducing the blue gum to Canterbury belongs to Dr. Erle and Dr. Barker. Doctor Erle's plant had a peculiar origin. He bought, from me, some Tasmanian onion seed, among which was a seed from which a plant supposed to be an English honeysuckle grew. Very soon this plant proved to be, not a honeysuckle, but a robust growing forest tree. An Australian settler having seen it, identified it as a Tasmanian blue gum. Some time after, seeds of the plant were obtained from Australia, and were eagerly sought after at a price as high as 20 guineas a pound. In one instance that sum was paid for nine ounces.' I quote this statement because we have no reason to doubt Mr Wilson.

Odd trees were planted in public places in the fifties and by the end of the sixties Hagley Park was systematically planted. The park was let for grazing and it is recorded that pigs and turkeys were at large destroying the plantations and pasture. In 1868 the Provincial Council was so informed.

THE IDEALS OF THE PILGRIMS

The writer has described the origin and inception of the Canterbury Settlement in another place in this book. The Settlement can be compared to other similar migrations. From the earliest times of history we read of the migration of large bodies of men; the Huns, the Goths, the Arabs and the Boers made mass migrations but lust of conquest played a part in these waves of emigration. On the other hand we have the Greek and Roman colonies to compare with modern projects. They sent out from the parent state a complete segment of society to become the germ of a new nation; the colonists carried with them their Gods, their customs and their festivals, and nothing was left behind that could be moved of all that the heart and eye of an exile might miss. Consciously or otherwise this was the idea of the Canterbury Pilgrims, though Downie Stewart and others have shown that the Pilgrims hoped to improve on the parent state. Speeches of the early members of the Provincial Council indicate that the faults of England were to be eradicated.

In outlining the scheme which they had in view, the founders of Canterbury took into consideration the evils that had everywhere overtaken the unsystematic colonisation adopted in various parts of the British countries. They decided to form a settlement in which, from the first, all the elements of a good state should have proper place, on the ground that an adequate provision for man's moral and religious wants was the primary element of successful colonisation. The Quakers in Pennsylvania, the Pilgrim Fathers in Massachusetts, the English Catholics in Maryland and

the French in Canada had pointed the way; all other schemes attracted emigrants of a single class driven out of the mother-country by the needs of subsistence or for less worthy reasons. The latter type of colonisation left their colonists without churches, schools, moral provisions and the advice of the rich and educated; the result was that the colonists degenerated. Years had to elapse before natural leaders came forward to govern the colonies.

The first public meeting of the Canterbury Association was held on May 3rd, 1850, in the Town Hall at Ipswich, which was crowded to the doors with most influential people, and the Bishop of Norwich presided. Perhaps for the first time colonisation became fashionable, and this was one of the reasons why the Canterbury project was such a success.

Many of the Canterbury settlers returned to England soon after their arrival in the new country: colonisation did not appeal. For this and for other less obvious reasons, the land sales fell away, and with them the revenue of the new colony, so that for a time failure and abandonment were considered.

Friends of Godley and others raised sums of money so helping on the progress of the settlement. Godley, his work at an end, left the colony in 1852 at a time when success was almost assured, but it was not till early in the sixties that real progress could be recorded.

The founders of Canterbury were certainly men of high ideals, and this is obvious even after the frills are discounted; men of vision; men of perseverance, men who held that righteousness exalteth a nation, and deeply religious men founded Canterbury. The rather ineffectual but gloriously spoken bishop-designate, Thomas Jackson, assured his listeners that ' If there is to be a day of decay of England, if in the midst of our repose and greatness agitators from another country shall come and write about the downfall of England, I only hope that we, in our day and generation, may help to unsay what they may say. I trust that the Canterbury colonists, attached by the most sacred bonds of the British Crown, will long look upon Protestant institutions as the best securities for truth, justice, religion and piety, and may God in his mercy grant that among the bright gems in the Crown of England the most enduring and loyal of her children may be found in that Britain of the future, the province of New Canterbury.'

It would seem that at least half of the Pilgrims were hoping to better their financial position; in England in the 'fifties conditions were almost desperate, and some of the greatest men, including Lord Shaftesbury, Disraeli and Wilberforce, could envisage nothing but financial disaster for Englishmen. Emigration was in the air and the colony of South Australia had been founded.

Much of the success of Canterbury was due to Godley, and the £500 a year paid to him in England, subsequently raised to £800 while he was in Canterbury, was about the best of the investments made by the Canterbury Association. His New Zealand engagement was for three years.

From its earliest inception the Canterbury Settlement, under Godley's despotic rule, was a comparative success. The preliminary arrangements were very good. Very soon however troubles arose. Political trouble with Governor Grey became prominent, there was a shortage of labour, and above all the land regulations were unsuitable. With the support of the Land Purchasers, Godley altered the ' plan ' to admit non-Anglicans and others to privileges, and to modify the land regulations. By this policy Godley gets the credit of saving the settlement. His action drew a sharp

reproof from the directors of the Canterbury Association in London. Gibbon Wakefield accused Godley of being delirious, incapable, furious, wild, worn out, perverse and incapable. Godley replied that he would rather be governed by a Nero on the spot than an Angel in London. Godley's new regulations and Governor Grey's cheap land outside the Block lead to the rise of the class known as ' wool kings ' or large squatters. Many radical politicians have given them a bad name. It has been contended that whereas in England, land ownership implied certain responsibilities and excellencies including the performance of public duties, in New Zealand large estates supported only a few shepherds, and the owners were not distinguished by any education or aptitude for public work. There is no doubt that right through Canterbury, both within and without the block, there were many obstacles to the purchase of land by small men and newcomers. The large owners brought to their aid devices such as spotting and grid-ironing. On the other hand the large owners had many difficulties to contend with and only those who had tried the business knew the difficulties.

There is a general hope that our Provincial Buildings will be preserved as a monument to the Canterbury Pilgrims. In *Art in New Zealand* (Volume 2) Helen M. Simpson has added her quota of appreciation. ' But the workmanship throughout is strikingly good, and when the stonemason (William Brassington) cut every capital and every corbel in a design different from all the others, when he carved a snail upon a bunch of strawberries, a toad on a cluster of leaves, a human head, a cat, a bird, he was not merely imitating the old monkish carvings with which he must have been familiar in his English boyhood—he was expressing himself and his own joy in his craft. Much the same may be said of the paintings of the ceiling, ' a lofty pointed barrel vault,' to quote from the enthusiastic description given in *The Press* at the time of the opening of the Chamber. This ceiling (it was painted by St. Quentin, a French artist from Sydney, and the colour has stood these sixty odd years in undiminished freshness) is one of the great beauties of the building. It is of wood, and painted, as has been said; but owing to there being no cornice, properly so-called, and to the main arches being continued to the floor by polished porphyry columns, it is amazingly all of a piece with the whole Chamber, seeming to be truly a continuation of the walls, gradually curving to a particularly pleasing arch.

' And these painted beams, with the stone corbels which support them, the more delicate stained glass of the windows, and the mosaic tiling of the lower part of the walls, add a richness and splendour which are, of course, in keeping with the Gothic tradition. It is thought that had the system of Provincial government been longer continued, the whole of the floor of the Chamber would have been, as is the floor of the vestibule leading to it, laid down in mosaic tiles; but as it now stands there is no more than a border of these, the rest is wood.'

In the *Deans Letters* we find much information about the Pilgrims and the preparations made for them by Thomas. ' It is to be hoped that on or before the arrival of the first settlers a proper agent for the Canterbury Association should be sent out, as the present one, Captain Thomas, is not at all adapted to the situation on account of his overbearing manner and hasty temper. . . . . Wakefield (E. Gibbon) is a man I detest more than any other I know, and notwithstanding his tact and plausibility in winning proselytes I think he has few or no real friends. I do not think him the clever man that I have often heard him called. He has an excel-

lent memory and a large stock of brass and impudence, and these seem to carry him through. I am sorry Mr Godley has left before we arrived, as he would have been the colonists' best champion. Wakefield and Sewell take every opportunity of damaging his reputation.' Thomas Cass says: 'Captain Thomas, Felix Wakefield, and Scraggs went home together in the *Midlothian;* they will either quarrel or get up a new settlement.' William Deans says: 'If you have the New Zealand *Gazettes* of about August or September two years ago, you will see the description Captain Daniel (who went to look out a site for the Nelson settlement) gives of it; and on the chart of New Zealand just behind Banks Peninsula you will see it marked " Land very fertile." It has been so marked since the days of Cook."

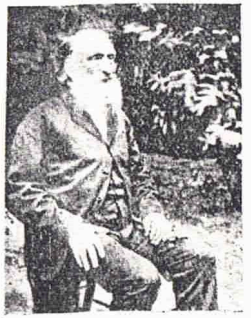
A study of *Pioneers of Canterbury—The Deans Letters*—yields much information. From the start they were, apparently, of the opinion that Canterbury was more suitable for sheep. In 1847 their flock was nearly 600 and by 1850 over 2,000. The more sagacious of the Canterbury Pilgrims took up large runs under pastoral licence, instead of, or as well as, buying small areas of farming land. The drift away from the ideas of the Association began early. Some of the Deans Brothers' land transactions are recorded. One of the letters records that some of the Pilgrims were 'very bad payers,' and another records that Captain Thomas was ill fitted for his job, since he was overbearing and hasty.

In the *Christchurch Press,* January 28th, 1937, some of the records in the Land Office are recorded. A list of books in the Christchurch Library in 1853 begins with several volumes of sermons. Lists of children attending the 'Church Commercial School' at Lyttelton in 1851 record amounts paid or owing by the scholars at the rate of 2d. per week. A report from the Kaiapoi School of the last quarter of 1851 records the progress of the pupils, who were all Maoris. Hori 'can read and write; to addition' is an example of progress. The celebrated report from John and William Deans to Captain Thomas and the 1846 Maori lease to the Deans Brothers are in the records. They leased all the land from six miles on each side of their original farm at Riccarton for 21 years. Later, this was compensated by the right to occupy lands beyond the Association's block. Other documents record the purchases by the French settlers (Nanto-Bordelaise Company) from 1840 onwards. Other documents record the objections of the Maoris to the validity of the purchase of their lands on the plains. A letter records Governor Grey's offer to the French settlers of British citizenship. He assured them that by accepting it they would not be deprived of French citizenship. The dispute between Godley and Thomas is recorded. Both were men of a type resentful of intrusion on their so-called rights and both were quick tempered.

The *Illustrated London News* of May 18th, 1850 made the following comment:—'We have been favoured with the accompanying view of the site of the Canterbury Settlement, by a gentleman recently employed there on the survey, which is now in progress, with a view to the completion of the preparations necessary for the reception of the first colonists, who, it is now arranged, will sail for their destination in the month of September. The plan of the undertaking has been so long before the public, and has engaged so large a share of attention, that we shall confine ourselves to a short outline of its leading features. The price at which the land is sold is £3 per acre, a price which, if contrasted with the price at which land can be obtained in other colonies, may, at first sight, appear high; but it will be evident to those who may take the trouble to analyse the details of the proposed application of the funds thus derived, that land in this

DR. A. C. BARKER

DR. RAYNER



DR. W. DONALD

DR. L. POWELL

DR. ROUSE

DR. J. S. TURNBULL

DR. EARLE

settlement, will, in reality, be cheaper to the purchaser, if the accompanying advantages be taken into account, than in others where its nominal price is much lower. Of the three elements of production, labour, capital, and land, the two former are in this country so redundant in comparison with the latter, that to those who are acquainted with colonial economics, it is difficult to realise the fact that an adequate supply of labour and the existence of a market are indispensable to its profitable cultivation. Yet it is notorious that, in all new societies, the scarcity of labour for hire has hitherto proved the main obstacle to their progress, and to the successful investment of capital. Where there is no labour at all capital cannot be employed, but will perish for want of hands to use it, as has been the case in many a modern colony. This difficulty will, it is believed, be effectually provided against in the Canterbury Settlement. . . . . They believe that their scheme will prove attractive to a class whom the tone of society prevalent in other colonies has hitherto operated to repel. That the capitalist will see in its economical features security for safe and profitable investment; and that thus, for the first time in the history of colonisation, there will be a newly-planted colony, not languishing for years amidst difficulty and disaster, but springing at once into rapid prosperity. We are happy to add that the ecclesiastical arrangements of the Settlement of Canterbury are in a state of great forwardness, and that the Rev. Thomas Jackson, M.A., canon of St. Paul's and principal of the training College of Battersea, is likely to be appointed the first Bishop. The site of the projected colony consists of 2,400,000 acres, on the east coast of the Middle Island, in a favourable position, apart from older settlements, and from the vicinity of the natives. It comprises 1,765,000 acres of plain land; of wood land 237,100 acres; of mountain and hill land 397,900 acres; the total population of the native settlement being 359. Mr Walter D. Mantell, Government Commissioner, in a letter, dated Port Levi, Banke's Peninsula, August 16th, 1849, says, " The province of Canterbury will, as I said when it lay waste on the ' grand plain,' bear comparison, not only with any unsettled district in New Zealand, but with any of the already-formed settlements: this, as far as my observation goes. In fact, now that its capabilities have become so publicly known, even the breaking up of the Association cannot prevent its going ahead, and becoming, and remaining for a long time, the leading settlement in New Zealand, and English capital of the country." '

The writer is of the opinion that *The Illustrated London News* gives a satisfactory explanation of the ' ideals ' of the Association. Capitalists were offered protection and this would encourage them to emigrate to a colony where there would be plenty of labour.

The pilgrims began to arrive in December, 1850. The Surgeon Superintendents, as they were termed, of *The First Four Ships* were *Charlotte Jane,* Dr. A. C. Barker; *Sir George Seymour,* Dr. F. Wilkinson; *Cressy,* Dr. Daniel Watkins; and *Randolph,* Dr. Earle. Several other doctors came in these ships. Dr. Henry Richards was in the *Sir George Seymour.* The two Brittans (Joseph and William Guise) were both doctors but never practised in New Zealand. William Guise came in the *Sir George Seymour* and Joseph in the *William Hyde* in 1852.

What were the social conditions of early Christchurch? Speaking of March, 1852 Mr George R. Hart said, ' We were also a very healthy community then, which may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that there were only two medical men regularly in practice in Christchurch. Two others came occasionally. It will thus be seen that we had every chance

of living to a green old age, which no doubt accounts for the fact that the Pilgrim Fathers do reach up to the allotted span of three-score and ten.' Mr Hart states that the first show of the Chrischurch Horticultural Society was held in 1852 and that the chief prize takers in fruit and flowers were Messrs Deans, Watts-Russell, W. G. Brittan, Dr. Donald, and the Rev. E. Puckle. He also states that Mrs Donald came in the *Cressy* as Miss Townsend and that a Mr Townsend had a farm near the Heathcote.

By the end of 1852, nineteen ships had safely arrived bringing over 3000 persons, about 25,000 acres of freehold had been sold, 400,000 acres of pasturage runs had been taken up, and coal had been found in the Malvern Hills. The Shagroons began to come in 1851 and stimulated the taking up of runs. They had little social effect on Christchurch which, up to the end of 1854, was an English Pilgrim settlement. By December, 1854 the big rush to the Australian diggings was over, and disappointed diggers were beginning to arrive in Lyttelton seeking work. 'This was the opening of a new era in Canterbury. Hitherto there had been a general acquaintance among the settlers and a free-masonry which was very pleasant; hospitality had been unbounded, people stayed by storm were taken in as a matter of course. Most of the inhabitants of Canterbury up to that time were people carefully selected at Home by the Canterbury Association in the first place, and by the Canterbury Immigration agent afterwards, the later arrivals being often the relations or friends of the early pilgrims. There were too, a few pioneers like the Deans and Rhodes —men of enterprise and resource, or they would not have been there, Nature's own selection of strong hands for an advance guard. Also a few Australian squatters who brought valuable experience to aid the newly-landed settlers in the practical work of colonisation. Altogether in the early fifties, the community was a united family; the members rendering each other mutual assistance, and always ready to give a hand to help a newcomer. The arrival of a party of disappointed diggers from Melbourne was the first wave of a new stream of emigration, which gradually altered the characteristics of the settlement. The diggers were rolling stones, rough, adventurous men from all parts of the world.' (*The Story of Christchurch*).

The next great 'social disaster' was the rush to the West Coast goldfields. Early in 1865 the rush began in earnest. Doctor Hight says, 'The first months of 1865 brought to West Canterbury a polyglot population drawn from the four quarters of the globe. The conservative Canterbury settlers, in spite of their efforts to check the invasion, found their capital city swarming with hardy "Uitlanders" differing in outlook and temperament from themselves, all bound for the "barren west!" With such diversity of culture and interest a conflict was inevitable.' Dr. Haast's report to the Provincial Government, though not a social study, makes grand reading (see *Handbook of Westland and Peninsula.* In this book Mr George T. Wilson has an analysis of the social effect of the rush).

Another social disaster was the 'bad times' of farming in the seventies. Then, as now, the prosperity of Christchurch depends on the land. We have a sense of "insulation' but it is only a concept.

Some years ago the *Tales of Banks Peninsula* were maliciously dubbed the 'fairy tales of Banks Peninsula' but such a view is too drastic. The book is a mine of information about the pre-Adamites. Apparently there are two books of *Reminiscences* by Mrs Courage, but the writer has only seen one of them. The writer has never seen the Hornabrook *Reminiscences* but he understands that it contained many references to Moore of

Glenmark. In 1911 Miss Wilson, a daughter of Archdeacon Wilson, published Miss Lohse's *Reminiscences,* a very interesting volume which unfortunately makes few references to Canterbury.

The writer has never read J. H. Menzies' *Family History,* a very rare book. Among other episodes on Banks Peninsula the author mentions his being directed to an accomodation house by one of the Rhodes, a story hard to believe. The Rhodes were always hospitable. Mr Watson, the magistrate at Akaroa, was one of those who entertained them well.

Robert B. Booth's *Five Years in New Zealand* is not so rare. The book is an accurate record of country life and the references to Samuel Butler add to the interest.

Letters from Canterbury and New Zealand is a slim volume relating to the Bridge family so well known in Canterbury. The Bridges are descendants of the founder of the British Medical Association. The book consists of letters ranging from 1854 to 1871, and there are several references to early Canterbury doctors. The following extracts serve.

'Yesterday was the evening fixed for our Captain to come and dine with us all here (Mitre Hotel, Lyttelton); I felt rather curious to see how such a thing would be managed here and I was quite astonished, the dinner was just like dinner in England would be only the waiters waited in their shirt sleeves. . . . . I believe the secret of my liking for Lyttelton, which no one else seems to like, is that the hills and the way over them reminds me so much of Malvern, but the path is rougher and steeper than that of the Worcestershire Beacon. . . . . I have been prevented going to church this morning by an unfortunate circumstance: Miss F, sister of the bridegroom yesterday, who has had bad health, was so much tired by the time the wedding was over, that she was unable to ride back, so we got a room for her in this cottage and she came here with us. She is subject to convulsions, and late last night, to our great alarm, one of these fits came on, the worst of it was I did not know what ought to be done for her, and she was too ill to tell me; Mr F who had attended her on board was up country, so we were obliged to call in Dr B who, after some time, succeeded in quieting her, she is much better to-day, but she must stay where she is for a day or two. . . . . I am very well except that I am teased with a relaxed throat, which has troubled me more or less ever since we were at Nelson. I must tell you that I heard Mr Fisher tell C. that he never saw any one improve in health more than I did the last two months of the voyage.'

Another trip out from England is described in the *Letters.* 'It is wonderful that we should have such a doctor as Dr. Scott. I laugh now at myself when I remember the idea I had of ships surgeons. . . . . He told me about a little child who died on one of his voyages, suffering from inflammation of the bowels, 6 years old; just before she died she said to him "I am in great pain now, but in ten minutes I shall be with God" then "kiss me doctor!" . . . . . I don't know what I should do without bottled beer. . . . . There is a good deal of card playing on board. I am sorry that Dr. S plays with the young men for money; it must be bad for them. He is a most kind pleasant man; he should be more careful of his influence. Certainly a ship is a place of temptation for a young man; the enforced idleness leads to much folly and evil. However there can be no drinking now, for there is nothing to drink—ale porter and port wine are come to an end; there is only some sherry left. The coffee is nearly gone. We have begun on the last sheep. It is quite time that we made Lyttelton.'

The Bridges settled at Southbridge and the *Letters* record the names of some doctors. 'Nov. 4th, 1867. It is a comfort that there is now a doctor settled at Leeston, within five miles, a Doctor C. . . . . Sept. 9th, 1869. Yesterday Fanny went to Christchurch to consult Dr. Coward. . . . . July 18th, 1870. She consulted Dr. Coward and his partner Dr. Powell. . . . . August 28th, 1870. If it is not better to-morrow I think of sending for Dr. C. from Lyttelton, he was an assistant to Sir J. Simpson.'

THE FOUNDER OF CANTERBURY

New Zealanders are given to mild hero worship. In the early days a man would give his address as his place of birth in England or Scotland, but those habits soon passed, and now there is a tendency to narrow parochialism. Interest centres round the 'Founder of Canterbury.' Who founded Canterbury? John Robert Godley gets the credit, but what are the facts?

About 1844, Gibbon Wakefield, his brother, Colonel William Wakefield, and his son, Edward Jerningham Wakefield discussed the project of a Church of England settlement. The idea was postponed for various reasons. The hostility of the Maoris following the Wairau massacre, the opposition of the Colonial Office, and the general opposition to colonisation were some of the reasons, but Gibbon Wakefield never abandoned the idea. Godley was not concerned till late in 1847 and J. E. Fitzgerald till 1850. In 1845, Gibbon Wakefield sent his son to Dublin to confer with Dr. Samuel Hinds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. After Godley became interested, Wakefield with the consent of his colleagues, persuaded Godley to consider the question of devoting himself to the project decided upon. But for the support of Lord Lyttelton, John Simeon, Bishop Hinds, the Hon. Francis Baring, C. B. Adderley, Henry Sewell, William Bowler and R. S. Rintoul, the scheme would never have materialised. Rintoul encouraged the project in the *Spectator*.

Captain Joseph Thomas was selected to come out. I am indebted to the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* for information about Thomas. He was born in 1803 and had served in India. He first came to New Zealand in March 1840, and did much surveying and exploring work in Wellington, Hawkes Bay and Otago. He returned to England in the middle forties and in 1848 was sent out by the New Zealand Company to select a site for the Church of England settlement. In May, 1849 Bishop Selwyn and Sir George Grey approved his selection of Port Cooper, and in July he began the survey of the Canterbury Block. On the advice of William Deans he fixed the site for the capital on the plains. Godley considered Thomas a rough, vigorous, determined man and the experienced J. L. Stokes, captain of the *Acheron* spoke very highly of his maps which were better than any he had seen south of the line. He was a man of judgement, energy, skill and perseverance. In Jan., 1851, he was succeeded by Cass and proceeded to England a few months later.

It is well known that the two other selectors did not favour the Port Cooper site. When Godley came in April, 1850 he stayed a day before going back to Wellington. He was certainly impressed by the work done. A quarrel began nominally over money. Thomas had, according to Godley, exceeded his grant by some £4000. Thomas says, 'About the end of April, 1850, Mr Godley arrived in the *Lady Nugent*, at Port Cooper, and announced himself as the agent of the Canterbury Association. As such I received him, placed at his disposal a very comfortable house and treated him with all the civility in my power. He was cold and uncommunicative,

stayed only 48 hours and went to Wellington. Soon after his arrival at that place, he addressed me officially, ordering all public works to be suspended. The summer, however, advanced; and as the emigrants might be soon expected, and as I had heard nothing from Mr Godley, except a note or two respecting his garden, I repaired to Wellington, to receive his instructions respecting the resumption of the Public Works. Mr Godley received me in the same repulsive manner as before, evinced no disposition to consult with me as to what was to be done at Port Cooper, and directed me to return to that place. . . . . Towards the end of November, Mr Godley arrived at Port Cooper. His manner towards me was so offensive that it was frequently remarked, while his hostility was evinced by his countenancing and employing persons whom I had been forced to dismiss from the service of the Association. . . . . '

When the Pilgrims arrived there was no means of reaching the Plains other than the Bridle Track, and small boats over the Sumner Bar. A few days after his clash with Thomas, Godley wrote home to the Association as follows, 'He (Thomas) has great difficulties to contend with and much personal odium to incur in the discharge of his duty, and I have only one opinion from those in this country who are qualified to judge—the opinion, namely, that the interests of the Association could not possibly have been confided to more efficient hands. . . . . When the application was made to Mr Fox by Thomas for the extension of his credit, it would have been impossible for Thomas to have closed his accounts and kept within the limits of his authorised expenditure, and it is needless to point out the extreme inconvenience and evil of all kinds which would have resulted from leaving his in a position of virtual bankruptcy.' A. Selwyn Bruce said, 'The real founder was Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who, in association with Hinds, Lyttelton, Whately, Simeon, Baring, Adderely, Sewell, Bowler, and Godley, hatched the scheme which Thomas, off his own bat, so to speak, carried to full fruition. Thomas's connection with the foundation and geographic location of Canterbury Province deserves memorial perpetuation, and it is to be hoped that this will some day be recognised and tangibly expressed.'

It is only fair to add that in the first few years after 1850 there were many difficulties, which a man like Thomas would probably have found insurmountable. There were conflicts between the local 'Society' and the Committee of Management of the Canterbury Association in London; between the 'Society' and the Government in New Zealand, arising from the desire of the Pilgrims to manage their own affairs; and, too, the New Zealand Government and the Colonial Office under Earle Grey were in conflict. Godley's wisdom, tact, and administrative ability maintained confidence until the Committee of Management was enabled, by an Act. to transfer its functions to the Canterbury Provincial Council. Godley remained in Canterbury until after self-government was assured. He was asked to become the first Superintendent, but he declined. He left on December 21st, 1852, and the following year the machinery of the Provincial Government began to move.

Colonel Campbell first became interested in New Zealand some time before 1838. He had himself put forward a scheme for a 'military colony' but he gave this project up to join the New Zealand Association in which he became a possible rival to Edward Gibbon Wakefield. When the New Zealand Bill of 1838 was rejected in the House of Commons the Association disbanded. But one of the main factors causing the break-up was the Wakefield-Campbell rivalry and this did not resound to the credit of Wake-

field who had always denied any wish for personal aggrandisement. Campbell was a nervous man and like all nervous men he may have worn himself out doing very little, but his first 'contact' with New Zealand affairs was unfortunate.

Colonel Campbell's letter books have been preserved and the writer understands that a study of these appears to indicate that the Colonel fell under the displeasure of Godley and the Pilgrims. For a time, at least, Campbell had the support of Governor Grey, who at first was very unpopular with the Pilgrims. The Governor disliked church settlements with their rather narrow views. Especially did he dislike the Canterbury project since the Pilgrims claimed that they could deal directly with the Home Government, and the Pilgrims were very down on Scotch settlers.

The life of Campbell is in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* which says, 'Campbell, James (1783-1858) of the Campbells of Skerrington, Ayrshire, was an officer of the 45th and 50th Regiments, with which he served in the Peninsular Wars. He was on the staff of Sir Thomas Picton's division, being brigade-major of the right brigade. Campbell was present at the battles of Vimiera, Talavera, Busaco, Fuentes d'Onoro, Badajoz, Toledo and Salamanca and was promoted major and lieutenant-colonel, receiving the medal with 14 clasps. He also served at Monte Video and Buenos Ayres (under Whitelock), and in Ceylon and North America. After retiring from the army Campbell experienced many misfortunes until 1850, when he became interested in the Canterbury Association, and invested in land. On 25th May, he was elected a member of the committee of the Society of Canterbury Colonists (with Tancred, Sewell and Brittan). He came to New Zealand in the *London* (arriving at Auckland in Feb., 1851). A recommendation from the British Government to Sir George Grey led to Campbell's being appointed on 27th Sep. a commissioner of claims in New Munster and afterwards commissioner of crown lands and government agent in Canterbury and senior justice of the peace. In this capacity he was called upon to investigate all land claims and adjudicate upon them. He came into conflict with the settlers and protest was made to Grey against his administration. In July, 1853, though still holding his official post, he contested the superintendency of Canterbury against Fitzgerald, in spite of the returning officer's warning that he was not qualified by being on the electoral roll. The election resulted: Fitzgerald 135 votes, Campbell 94, Tancred 89. A few months later Campbell was superseded and thereafter he persistently petitioned for compensation for loss of office. In his statement (dated Nov. 1st, 1856) he says that he was opposed to provincialism and was a consistent advocate of a strong central government. He died on 7th July, 1858.'

Campbell's son, Francis E. Campbell, also an army man, came to Canterbury with his father in 1851. He farmed for three years and was then appointed clerk of the House of Representatives.

One of Colonel Campbell's first acts was to insert a notice in *The* Lyttelton Times of 25th October, 1851 declaring 50 acres of land in lots for sale at Timaru and Kaikoura. Thereafter he published 'lists' of runs which he had granted to applicants. Andersen (27) says, 'He was not Commissioner for the whole Province, but only for the lands outside the Canterbury Block, having been appointed to that position by Sir George Grey. The Canterbury colonists refused, however, to acknowledge his authority, and both sides acted in a mutually inimical spirit that in the present day appears at times trivial, at times entertaining, and at times deplorable. It had been Colonel Campbell's ambition not only to be

Commissioner of Crown Lands for the whole of the new province, but to be its first Superintendent: the colonists, on the other hand, firmly and absolutely declined to recognise him in any official capacity whatsoever. The Colonel wrote in a very minute, nervous hand, and his letters are extraordinarily diffuse, even as compared with other letters in those days of formal, long drawn-out, and often tedious official correspondence. He would not seldom employ half a sheet of foolscap in the mere acknowledgement of a memorandum. He located his office at Akaroa, and sometimes published instructions to Canterbury stock-owners in the Wellington *Spectator*. When the boundaries of the Canterbury Block were extended by proclamation in the New Zealand Gazette of 28th February, 1853, to include land northwards to the Hurunui and southwards to the Waitangi Rivers, his Commissionership was taken from him, the Colonists having decided on the election of William Guise Brittan to that office, and he was made Registrar of Deeds only; but on 12th December, 1854, the Superintendent thought it 'expedient to solicit the concurrence of the Provincial Council in the removal of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell from the office of Registrar of Deeds of the Province.' The grounds for this were 'general unfitness for the duties of his office, wilful and continued neglect of duty, and a determined spirit of opposition and resistance to the Provincial Government, and disrespect towards its executive officers.'

Canterbury historians have had difficulty in explaining how licenses for runs outside the Canterbury Block were issued before October, 1854. Outside the block, stockowners and others, some of them mere speculators, were seeking out country and applying for licenses to occupy. Some were applying without ever seeing the country. As this country was not surveyed and, in fact, for the most part not explored, much confusion arose over the extent and boundaries of the runs applied for. For many of the areas there were only very rough sketch maps. After the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) applications for runs were made to the General Government which meant, in the few years before 1850, Governor Grey. In October, 1851 Colonel Campbell was given wide powers as regards the issue of licences for runs outside the Block. Campbell was unpopular with many of the Pilgrims who stated that he had applied for an appointment with the Canterbury Association and had been considered quite unsuitable.

There was at this time a natural desire on the part of the Pilgrim 'politicians' to develop the Block rather than the country outside. In January, 1852 Campbell published a list of applications for runs outside the block but very soon the issue of all pasturage licences outside the Block was stopped owing to new regulations coming in a despatch from Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. However, in September, 1853 Campbell was again active and he issued notices of licences granted or prepared.

Within a few weeks a petition from the Provincial Council resulted in Campbell being 'removed from office' and W. G. Brittan took over the control of lands outside and inside the Block. He was assisted by a waste lands board. It was not till October, 1854 that fresh licenses for the outside runs already occupied were issued. These showed the boundaries with some degree of accuracy and the regulations about stocking began to be enforced. Thus the 'cormorants' had to give way to 'genuine settlers.'

When Brittan took over one of his first acts was to intimate that he proposed to enquire into the complaints regarding the allotment of runs by Campbell. Complaints had to be lodged by June 1st, 1854 'after which date the lands outside the Canterbury Block would be finally allotted to

applicants according to their respective claims and priority of application. Licences would be issued on the Ist October, 1854, and no licence would be renewed or confirmed unless the holder sent in a return of all stock depastured before 21st June, 1854.'

In Campbell's time a man, perhaps a speculator, would apply for a run without exact boundaries, and many of the runs were not stocked in accordance with such conditions as were laid down. Thus it was that speculators and others would apply for large areas so keeping out 'genuine settlers'. The *Lyttelton Times* of May 20th, 1854 published a letter from Domett to Campbell which advised the latter to cut down the size of the runs to areas less than 30-35,000 acres. Domett advised him to 'slash down right and left these cormorants. You have great discretionary powers, and you should use them to cut down the runs as much as possible. There is nothing you can do which would be more popular.' For 52 runs applied for and granted by Campbell, about half of them south of the Rangitata, there was a total first payment of £552/6/10. A large number of these selectors of runs either forfeited or surrendered or transferred their runs within the first year or two after their selection. A. Cox recorded how he bought the two runs from the original selectors without any inspection of the country. When Valpy rode through South Canterbury, he recorded only the Rhodes as being on a run and mentioned that Hornbrook was to have a run. That was in May, 1852.

Brittan's investigations in 1854 showed that most of the runs in South Canterbury were unstocked and the licences of most of the unstocked runs were cancelled and the runs re-allotted. Among others the licence for Collin's run was cancelled and allotted to George Duppa who, however, had his licence cancelled apparently because he did not occupy the country. The Rhodes were secure and also Hornbrook. In November, 1854 Jeanie Collier applied for two runs, and very soon Paul Studholme, Herbert Meyer and Edmund Gibson applied for runs.

The history of the runs north of the Block have been recorded. Thus Run 4 became Stoneyhurst, Run 5 Teviotdale, Run 12 Motunau, etc. These have been recorded by L. G. D. Acland.

It is quite obvious that Colonel Campbell had a difficult job especially when he had to contend with such strong opposition. Governor Grey was at his back but not close enough. We must remember that the Canterbury Association contended that in some ways they were under the British Government and not Governor Grey.

W. A. Taylor has made an exhaustive study of early Canterbury records and his views bear some resemblance to my own views which can be summarised. Thomas has more right to be called the 'Founder of Canterbury' than Godley. Fitzgerald was an able man but in his early days his expositions reflected the views of Godley and his associates. A study of the letter books and other correspondence of Colonel Campbell reveals that the Colonel was a grossly maligned man, and that many of the unprovoked attacks were in reality the work of Godley. Perhaps the greatest weaknesses of Godley were his dislike of Scotch settlers, his dislike of Thomas, and his relations to Colonel Campbell.

There is often confusion about the Societies in connection with the Canterbury Association. In England there was the Society of Canterbury Colonists, and after the arrival of the First Four Ships this became the Society of Canterbury Land Purchasers. W. Guise Brittan was chairman of both; his original chairmanship in England was taken over by Charles Simeon. Early in 1852 the Society of Land Purchasers was dissolved and

two new Societies were formed, one in Lyttelton and another in Christchurch. In Charlotte Godley's *Letters* we read of the formation. Brittan declined to take office.

The task of studying Canterbury history is much simplified for amateurs if they remember that Henry Sewell and E. G. Wakefield were opposed to Godley. In 1852 the Canterbury Association was in financial difficulties and Sewell was sent out to Canterbury arriving in February, 1853 just as provincial government was coming into being. As a result of 'push' from Sewell and Fitzgerald the Provincial Government assumed the powers, privileges and liabilities (£30,000) of the Association. Sewell then went deeply into politics eventually becoming the first Premier of New Zealand (1856). At that time Sewell and E.G. Wakefield, who also came out in 1853, were hand in hand.

The choice of a Bishop for Canterbury was a problem. The Rev. J. C. Wynter and Mr Maddock, rector of Kington, both declined. The Rev. Mr Jackson was chosen after more invitants had declined. His platform speaking was exceptional and his glowing accounts of the prospects in New Zealand were notable features of his short reckless and 'spendthrift' career. At the time Bishop Selwyn's diocese included the whole of New Zealand. The Bishop-designate sailed in the *Castle Eden* accompanied by his wife and family, a footman and a carriage. His wife was the daughter of a fashionable London tailor and immediately on landing at Lyttelton the fashion was asked to look up. Dressed in silk and ostrich feathers the idea was for the Pilgrims to follow the fashion. Godley gave great scandal by appearing at 'the palace' in moleskin trousers and a blue jumper. The personal interview with Bishop Selwyn is generally passed over in silence. No consecration took place, the parson returned to England and was appointed to the living of Stoke Newington. In 1856 the wise and long-headed Bishop Harper was appointed to become one of Canterbury's greatest men.

The 'plan' of the Canterbury Association envisaged the settlement jointly governed by Godley and the Bishop acting in co-operation, but Godley was not the sort of man to welcome any lowering of power. No doubt Bishop Jackson was a fool but that was not the sole reason for 'friction.'

The surgeons in the New Zealand Company's emigrant ships had very onerous duties. 'Whatever the Company did before the ship sailed, the emigrants at sea were in the hands of the surgeon, who nearly always filled the office of agent on board. In addition to looking after the health of his people, he had to superintend the stores and the daily issues of food, read prayers and a sermon on Sunday, see that the passengers aired their bedding daily, settle their quarrels, and, above all, try to keep 'the mind of the emigrants beneficially employed " by promoting " innocent amusements among them.' The fairly numerous complaints against the surgeon must in part have been due to this multiplicity of duties. The Company had the latest medical advice at its disposal in London. The surgeons in 1841 carried fresh virus from the London Vaccine Institution. They had a great variety of 'Medical Comforts' to issue, not only to the sick, but to all passengers to safeguard their health. Among these Medical Comforts was a fortifying supply of stout, brandy, sherry, port, as well as arrowroot and sago. The surgeon had drugs and medicines in ample supply from the Company, but had to bring his own surgical instruments. By far the most onerous part of the surgeon's duties was his watching over the behaviour of individual passengers. He had to keep the vicious apart from

the rest, prevent gambling, organise a school for the emigrants who could read to teach those who could not, have them on deck six hours a day, weather permitting, and, in addition to all this, co-operate with the Captain in carrying out the routine of the ship.

The New Zealand Company saw to it that its emigrant ships had a good send-off. This was partly to get newspaper publicity, partly to hearten the people who were leaving their homes with very little prospect of seeing them again. . . . . Dr. Johnson once remarked that being at sea was like being in prison, with the added chance of being drowned. It is hardly surprising that an occasional emigrant, who somehow found the liquor, should have drunk himself stupid. Petty bickering and quarrels were far more frequent. Unfortunately the surgeon himself might often be involved in these. One surgeon who made the emigrants do work that should not properly have fallen to them, under threat of stopping their rations, was fined by the Company on arrival in New Zealand. On the other hand the emigrants on board the *Whitby* cheerfully volunteered to work the pumps daily for weeks together when the ship sprung a dangerous leak. Even if they failed sometimes in tact and allowed the emigrants to nourish grievances against each other or the authorities, the surgeons seldom failed in their professional duty. It was rare for a ship to lose more than six lives, in spite of a good deal of sickness on board. A sad exception was the ship *Lloyds,* bringing out the families of the first Nelson emigrants in 1842, which lost fifty-eight children, more than a quarter of the total of passengers. The fact that forty-nine of these deaths were of children less than four years old shows that very young children could not always stand up to the hardships of a long voyage.' (45).

In the *Canterbury Papers* we find a note on the emoluments to the ship's surgeons. 'Ten shillings a head for each passenger, whether adult or child, landed at Canterbury in New Zealand. Twenty shillings for every birth that may occur on board and a gratuity of twenty five pounds subject to a deduction of twenty shillings for every death.' There were, of course, other conditions.

In the case of ships arriving with contagious or infectious disease on board, the immigrants were quarantined on the ship. Camp Bay was used as a quarantine station for newly arrived immigrants, this probably being the origin of the name. Many died and were buried there, a reserve of 30 acres being set apart for the purpose. In 1855, Quail Island, which was originally a ' pleasure resort,' was set apart as a quarantine station for diseased sheep. Later, it was a leper station. I do not know when Camp Bay began to be used for public health purposes.

Most of our pioneers were sane people, in favourable contrast to our present depleted population, increasing fuss, and nervous disorders. To-day, as in the past, large families are essential virtues. Many of our early doctors were prolific in keeping with the times. We tend to pay too much attention to the minor failings of the pioneers. We note that stubborn prejudice and English mother grundy ideas induced some to come out: a young couple would strike out on their own in one of the colonies. There were some of whom it could be asked, 'What did they come out for?' but the majority had no such background. Many of the pioneers were of 'good family.' When they came they kept diaries. I know nothing of the diaries left by other pilgrim ventures but some of the Canterbury ones have literary as well as historical value. Unfortunately some of the best are not available. Should any descendant of a Pilgrim destroy one of these diaries, the penalty should, in my opinion, be a capital one. It would seem

that, in Canterbury, no two people are agreed on the definition of a 'Pilgrim.' Above all, we should honour the 'original purchasers.' Most of these had intent to 'found' though, of course, many did not leave England.

Watts-Russell was one of those who came out for a personal reason. He was to go into the army but took ten land orders (500 acres) instead. Ilam, his home in Christchurch, was known to all the Pilgrims, and he was a runholder in a big way though the management was left to A. R. Creyke. Watts-Russell suffered from asthma and he was one of the first to discover that the Malvern Hills is a good locality for that complaint.

Watts-Russell was the first of the Pilgrims to start pastoral pursuits. Dalethorpe and stock were acquired from the Deans brothers. Returning to the colony by the *Westminster* from a visit to England (1858), he brought 20,000 bricks for his home at Ilam, a fine two-storeyed house on a brick foundation which is described by Lady Barker as, 'the most charming place I have yet seen.' Here Watts-Russell dispensed hospitality on a lavish scale, with little desire for the hurly-burly of politics. The unvarying integrity of his private life was a fine example in the early days of the settlement. In all his relations he was inspired by a deep Christian spirit. . . . . One unfortunate experience was his part in the introduction of rabbits into the province. He liberated some at Dalethorpe and sowed five acres in buckwheat for their benefit. In 1859 with H. Hirst he made an exploration of the West Coast sounds in a Maori boat. An ardent freemason, he helped to form the first lodge in Christchurch and later he spent both energy and money in the establishment of the provincial grand lodge. He was himself the first provincial grandmaster.' (6).

The Goldney brothers were members of another well known family concerned in the social upheaval of the Pilgrims. They were at Cora Lynn from 1860 till 1867 when they sold and went Home. They also had a Merino stud farm in the vicinity of the present Brown's Road until they were beaten by foot rot. Sir Hugh Acland lives in the house they built.

Life on board the ships is very adequately described in *Making New Zealand,* and something is said of the social conditions of the three classes—cabin, second and steerage. 'Class distinctions were firmly rooted in the minds of everyone in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign, and conditioned life on board. But this extract from a passenger's diary makes surprising reading to-day: 'There are one or two of our fellow-passengers who will go among the emigrants and make themselves familiar with them. The Captain is very much annoyed at it, as it tends to lower the dignity of the ship. One of them absented himself from our meeting last evening, and was found amongst them. The captain felt himself insulted at his preferring their society to ours. . . . . I have never spoken to one of them yet.' A scots steerage passenger said of conditions on his ship that the cabin passengers were gentry and had no intercourse with any other class; second class passengers were would-be gentry, and wished no communication with the steerage. Over all presided the Captain—'quite a gentleman, walks with his gloves, very haughty, and never speaks to us.''

In Scotland class distinctions were never so severe as in England and the steerage Scots must have been amazed. Education is more general north of the Tweed in 'North Britain.' The writer is of the opinion that the 'treatment' meted out to the steerage Scots lingers in the memory of their descendants to-day.

Several of the Company's early ships actually had Maoris on board, and the more energetic emigrants took up the study of the language. By 1840 the Maoris had recovered their ancient love of travel and had journeyed to 'the ends of the earth.'

In the first half of the nineteenth century ship-owners took no thought for the safety of their passengers. They claimed that they were risking their ships and the lives of the crew and that the lives of the passengers were not their concern. We read of life-saving apparatus being offered to the shipping companies only to be turned down with scorn. We must therefore realise that the emigrants to New Zealand were cared for in a manner much ahead of the times.

Canterbury had a strong clerical flavour, though this is dying away. In *Whether to go and Whither,* a work on emigration, Sydney Smith contended, ' We entertain all due respect for the ecclesiastical zeal by which the Canterbury speculators are deceived into the idea of its excellence. But, as a commercial scheme, we emphatically denounce it as a bubble, phlebotomizing the poor, and blistering the rich simpletons who listen to the project for one moment. We earnestly advise all colonists to guard the issues of taxation. Let them not submit to be taxed and burdened beforehand, and unconsciously to saddle themselves with an extravagant established church, rendered by their own folly entirely independent of all popular control. Have nothing to do with this Canterbury. Its beginning is radically unsound, and it will end in failure and folly. Bishops, archdeacons, and parsons are not settlers. After they have amassed a competency, they will carry it away from the colony. They are not improvers. They will produce nothing. The profit is to be altogether overlaid by the cost, and can end only in the ruin of the bladders whom it squeezes.' I have examined several copies of the *Canterbury Papers* from the libraries of Pilgrims. In most cases this criticism of Sydney Smith is heavily underlined. To this day I cannot say whether the criticism has had any ' cultural ' significance. On the runs, the parsons did not make fortunes, and my experience is that the parsons have been given almost less than a pittance to educate their large families.

Some of my readers may consider that I make too much of the plan of land sales in the early years of the settlement. We should try to place ourselves in the environment of the newly arrived Pilgrims. Captain Thomas has done some good work but we are on the Plains and there is the virgin land. We have our land orders. How are we going to keep body and soul together? The Land Office is open. (The Land Office opened on February 16th, 1851.) Of course there is excitement, though no closely settled areas point the way to ' city values,' and our knowledge of the agricultural value is academic. In *The Story of Christchurch* we have a description of the concourse outside the Land Office. The town and rural sections were drawn by ballot. There were 106 land orders to be dealt with. The rural sections were in most cases 50 or 100 acres in area. The land orders for rural sections carried in each case the right to a town section. In two days the selections were made. On April 16th, 1851 took place, by auction, the first sale of town sections in Lyttelton and Christchurch on behalf of the Association. The upset price was £24 per section. ' The highest price realised for a Christchurch section was £40, but the bidding for Lyttelton sections was more spirited many of the lots fetching double, some three times the upset price.'

Some of the selections, should the conditions of the present day obtain, make the mouth water. To take an example, Henry Phillips, who had two choices, drew relatively low in the ballot—No. 69 and No. 73—and selected for his town sections the sites of the Bank of New Zealand, Warner's Hotel, and Hobbs' Buildings. The sites first selected were along Oxford Terrace near ' The Bricks.' It was not till No. 22 was drawn that a selection was made anywhere ' near the centre of the town.'

Not all the land was selected after arrival. Arthur Dobson stated that, ' A small amount of land was sold in London on a map prepared for the purpose, but most was sold on land orders, the purchasers to select on arrival.' (2).

Writing of the survey of Canterbury Dobson notes that, ' There being no funds with which to undertake a proper planning and survey of the district, and purchasers being at liberty to select and buy land where they chose, the land was taken up in a very erratic manner. . . . . Thomas and Cass, expert navigators, made first class surveyors, for a man who by astronomical observation and calculation can fix his position day by day on the trackless ocean, finds little trouble in doing the same thing on dry land, by actual measurement. But it does not appear that the leaders had any engineering experience. The Sumner road is a case in point. . . . . Dr. Monro (afterwards Sir David), when reporting upon Port Cooper as a place for settlement for the N.Z. Land Co., said, ' The shores of Port Cooper are steep banks on rocky cliffs, and to carry a road along the west side, as suggested by Messrs. Duppa and Daniel appears to me a work that might be executed by a Napoleon or a King of Egypt, but hardly by the New Zealand Company.' Nevertheless in spite of the very patent obstructions and the great cost of route via Evans Pass, Mr Jollie was instructed to set it out. . . . . The two Sales, the subsequent Professor and his brother, spent several months, in one of the Peninsula (survey) camps; they were great athletes, first-rate oarsmen, and made excellent survey hands.'

Contemporary records show that the line of the Sumner road over Evans Pass was suggested by Captain Stokes of the *Acheron* who had observed it from the sea. Stokes gave opinions on many projects. He stated that the Estuary could never be made into a satisfactory harbour. One of the Wakefields, Felix, drew exact plans for a harbour there, and the writer understands that his plan was very similar to that recommended by later expert engineers.

The *Deans Letters* is a unique compilation. There are numerous references to Dr. A. C. Barker. Barker had many side lines. It is of interest that he designed the lower portion of Ross's School. We note that Mrs Earle stayed with Mrs Theodore Williams after Williams died in March, 1852. Thomas Cass, the surveyor who held that the earth was flat, married the widow of David Theodore Williams. In other respects Cass was an able man though it is hard to see how he could disbelieve the evidence of his own theodolite. James Robinson Clough (Jimmy Robinson) kept a diary at Homebush in 1851. He records the visits of Dr. Barker, Dr. Hogg, and Dr. Draper. Draper was a brother of Mrs J. E. Fitzgerald and George Draper. The Doctor afterwards died of exposure after having been washed down stream in crossing the Ashburton River. On the Malvern Hills near Sheffield is a prominent point named Abner's Head. Many local residents have contended that it is named after Saul's cut throat, but surely it is named after Abner Clough. We read with interest that William Deans was a great friend of Dr. Diffenbach while in Wellington. Diffenbach visited the Chathams but there is no record of his being on the Canterbury Plains.

The records in the Christchurch Land Office are worthy of study. One of the earliest transfers is 50 acres at Purau, the site of the homestead, to the three Rhodes Brothers. Another transfer is 50 acres at the head of the Halswell to the Prebbles. A good many of Captain Thomas's letters are preserved, and these outline some of his difficulties after the arrival of Godley.

The Prophets or Shagroons were free from Pilgrim ideas, and scoffed at the attempts at small farming. Godley, lest they move away from Canterbury, took their views into account when he, acting on his own responsibility, altered the land regulations. The Shagroons took up land quickly, and stocked quickly. By the end of 1853, there were 100,000 sheep in the province, though of course not all were owned by the Australians. In the first few years after 1850, the term ' uncovenanted ' was used to designate those who were not original purchasers. By 1860, there were no ' distinctions ' betwen pre-Adamites, Pilgrims, and Shagroons—they were all runholders. By 1868, most of the runs were stocked and store sheep became unsaleable.

The influence of the Irish is difficult to assess. I quote G. H. Scholefield (*The Making of a Nation*: *Beginnings of New Zealand Nationality*): ' Irish ability and common sense have been at the base of democratic institutions in every part of the New World; Irish bravery and industry have carried entrenchments of difficulty and despair unsuspected by soldiers; Irish intellect has been in the van of culture wherever leisure has succeeded to the arduous struggles of the pioneer. . . . . Phillip Ryan was one of those who greeted the hoisting of the British flag by Captain Stanley. He had been cast away on the Society Islands, and reached Otakou in the schooner *Return* in 1838. Gerald Fitzgerald was one of the crew sent out by Captain Bruce to search for the *Kaka* off Banks Peninsula, and John Watson, another Irishman, succeeded Mr Robinson as magistrate at Akaroa. Long before this the name of O'Kain, the Irish naturalist, had been given to one of the Peninsula bays by Captain Hamilton, who happened to be reading O'Kain's book as he sailed past. The settlement at Waitemata was not organised originally at the other end of the world, but had grown in a haphazard manner, drawing its poulation almost entirely from the adjacent centre of New South Wales and from the whaling ships that frequented these waters. It was under these circumstances that the Irish preponderancy was established at Auckland without premeditation. Otago for Scots and Canterbury for English were so designed from the outset; but it was mere chance that made Auckland a colony of Irish. In its whole flood course of twenty years it (the rush to the goldfields) swept away thousands of Irish, and Irish names and institutions mark its path from beginning to end. Kingston and Queenstown on Lake Wakatipu are Irish landmarks. The goldfields of Otago and the West Coast are to-day repositories of the veterans of the " New Iniquity," grizzled, gay, hard-hitting men, at whom the pious, quiet-going Scots glanced narrowly and with protest. Yet, as a class, they were men of great virtue and sterling qualities. The majority of them ended their pilgrimage here; broke up the swag and entered the councils of the pioneers. They imparted an invaluable leaven of liberalism to the insular colonial mind.'

Andersen (19) states that Okains Bay could not have been named after an Irish naturalist because there was no such person. Moreover, the bay was named long before there was any regular trade between Lyttelton and the Bays. There was a German naturalist named Oken and Okeina is a doubtful Maori word, but the origin of the naming of Okains Bay is unknown.

' The Irish have played a leading part in the making of New Zealand. There were more Irishmen than English in the British regiments which did most of the fighting against the Maoris. It was the lads from Inneskillen and Cork, the Wicklow Mountains, and the glens of Antrim, who enforced with rifle and bayonet the mana of the English flag in our war

days. Turning to more peaceful scenes, it is in the nature of a paradox also that three Irishmen were the foremost figures in the pioneering and shaping of that most English of settlements, the Canterbury Province and the city of Christchurch. These three were John Robert Godley, Charles C. Bowen, and James Edward Fitzgerald. They were foundation-layers and builders, carrying out the plans drawn by the Canterbury Association, with Lord Lyttelton at its head, for the establishment in the new raw land of a complete cross-section of English society.' (James Cowan) (47).

It is a common error to suppose that these men wished to have an England in the Antipodes. Downie Stewart and others who have studied the speeches of the early officials of the Association have shown that Fitzgerald and others wished a ' better England ' and were prepared to implement novel legislation to achieve that end. When he became a Member of Parliament he was not one of those who wished to see the Maoris ' liquidated ' as did most of the Cabinet. ' The first Taranaki War had just ended, and more trouble was brewing in Taranaki and Waikato, presently to culminate in a fiercer war involving the two provinces. Fitzgerald being a South Island member, was able to take a more detached and impersonal view of the war and its causes than the North Island members of the Assembly, who were for the most part determinedly anti-Maori. Those were the days when the more intemperate newspapers and colonists demanded a war of extermination. Fitzgerald's chivalrous soul revolted at the crude arguments and the undisguised hate sentiments of the pro-war party, and particularly at the high-handed policy in Taranaki which had involved the country in war over a miserable little block of land, and he became a vigorous champion of peaceful methods and fair adjustment of Maori grievances. Then it was that he delivered in Parliament an appeal to reason and justice, an oration which Sir Robert Stout once described as " perhaps the ablest and most eloquent speech that has ever been delivered in the New Zealand Parliament, or in any Parliament." This speech I give here in full, because not only is it an example of Fitzgerald's style at its best, but it deserves to live as an exposition of the highest principles of administrative policy in the relation between two races, the fine ethics of peace in an age of war-fever. " The present state of things cannot last. The condition of the Colony is not one of peace; it is a state of armed and suspicious neutrality. If you do not quickly absorb this King movement into your own Government, you will come into collision with it, and, once light up again the torch of war in these islands, and these feeble and artificial institutions you are now building up will be swept away like houses of paper in flames. . . . . " The times have changed; the very speech of Parliament has changed; the Fitzgerald manner has vanished from our Legislative deliberations. The root of the matter may be there; but the mode of expression has deteriorated. Where or when can such a moving piece of oratory be heard to-day? Fitzgerald was far more than a speaker of polished English, of finished sentences, of lines that went like a poem. His utterances were inspired by a generous and lofty spirit, he breathed the soul of charity, he looked into the future, he saw more clearly than most men the deadly criminal folly of rushing into war.' (47).

There were a few Irishmen on the runs who preserved many Irish ways of living. The Carews, who later had a livery stable in Christchurch, were at Piraki, and Acland has recorded how the ménage was like the households of Charles Lever's novels. At Tressillian Brabazon would always have the front room filled with harness.

A. Selwyn Bruce

In *The Early Days of Canterbury* we find some information about the early doctors. 'Among the early chemists it is interesting to learn that Dr. Chapman in 1852 had a dispensary in Cathedral Square at the back of where Warner's Hotel now stands. Although a medico, he was not in large practice confining his principal attention to the druggists side of his profession. . . . . Many well known citizens were regular in their attendance at divine service at this lovely old Masonic Church, and we recall Sir Cracroft and Lady Wilson, Dr. Deamer, Alick Wilson, Richard Westenra, Andrew Loughrey, William Wilson, Albert Cuff, Charles Wellington Bishop, Thomas Bruce, William Maples, "Alphabetical" Graham (so known colloquially from his parents having burdened him with four Christian names), Noble Campbell, A. G. Hesketh, Henry Thomson, Fred Hobbs, A. G. Howland, Henry Allison, Henry Lake, Major Francis, William Godso, H. R. Webb, Charles Kiver, Theakston, W. H. Hargreaves and others. . . . . The earliest medicos (in Lyttelton) were Dr. McCheyne (who lost his life by falling down the entrance steps at the gate of Mr Reid in Canterbury Street), Dr. Donald, and Dr. Rouse. . . . . I have omitted reference to Dr. Mottley, one of Lyttelton's earliest medicos. He had served in the Indian Mutiny, being attached as surgeon to the Bengal Cavalry, and while attending the wounded in one of the engagements, he was ridden over by a troop of Native Horse, rendering him a cripple for life, his legs being crooked. . . . . And Dr. Fisher also, another popular medico who built the little residence on Oxford Terrace near the Royal Hotel (in later years the residence of Dr. Ben Moorhouse) was always to be seen making his visits to his patients mounted on horseback. . . . . Dr. Augustus Florance, who practised his profession in Caledonian Road, was to some extent unrecognised officially by his fellow medicos on account of some supposed flaw in his qualifications. . . . . Dr. Llewellyn Powell was in partnership with Dr. Coward in the sixties specialising in diseases of the eye, and I have reason gratefully to remember this doctor, for to him I am indebted for still being in possession of both my legs. Having been run over by a heavy wagon in 1871, my leg was lacerated at the knee to such an extent that our family physician, Dr. J. D. Frankish, insisted upon immediate amputation as the only hope of saving my life. My father being away in the North Island and quick communication with him being impossible, my mother flatly refused to allow Dr. Frankish to take the leg off, and the result was a consultation with Dr. Powell, who recommended a festina lente policy which resulted in my limb being saved and this life handicap avoided. . . . . An early practitioner also, was Dr. Marshall, who, in the sixties was in practice in Cashel Street, on the site afterwards occupied by the Press Company. A good story is told of Dr. Marshall being anxious to secure a Maori skull. . . . . Dr. Moore looking "Good old English" with side whiskers and of rotund proportions and wearing the Gladstonian collar and cravat, with tweed fore-and-aft gamekeeper's cap and smoking his favourite cigar, will be remembered by any contemporaries still in the flesh. . . . . Dr. Patrick of Oxford Terrace was a well known medico of the early days—cadaverous looking, as, absorbed in a treatise on the particular case he was attending he walked to the home of his patient. . . . . Dr. Turnbull, who was ships surgeon, arrived in 1858 and was in partnership with Dr. Hilson in 1859 in the premises built by Thomas Tombs on the present site of Cook and Ross. . . . . Another familiar face was that of Dr. Turnbull, in that old hansom cab with the seat facing backwards. I can hear his thud as he hobbled along with his wooden leg. His high pitched Scottish brogue once heard was never forgotten.'

A detailed survey of the Canterbury Provincial Government records by Mr W. A. Taylor reveals the following information, 'In Manchester Street, where the Municipal Buildings now stand, was once the home of Dr. Prins, one of the earliest surgeons of the Christchurch Hospital. Dr. Prin's house was demolished in 1900, when the Canterbury A. and P. Hall was erected. This hall was destroyed by fire. . . . . In 1853, a Mr Merry, who arrived in Lyttelton by the *Travancore*, purchased 50 acres at Dallington from Dr. Dudley and in 1856 he built a sod house with attics. Its picturesque setting made it a favourite subject for the cameras of the Y.M.C.A. and Christchurch Photographic Clubs. The interior of the house was papered with the newspapers of the fifties. It was taken down in 1935. . . . . The residence of Dr. Symes, built at the corner of Cambridge Terrace and Worcester Street, opposite the Canterbury Club, was demolished in September 1928. . . . . In January, 1941, the home of Sir Julius Von Haast, built in the sixties on Avonside Drive near the One Mile Stone (itself a relic of 1874) was pulled down. The site is not yet fully built on. . . . . The Avon River (Otakaro) pre-dates its sister stream the Heathcote (Opawaho) as a navigable course to Christchurch. The first person of European blood of whom we have knowledge to take a boat up the Avon River, was a pakeha-Maori from Akaroa harbour named James Robinson Clough. He travelled up the Avon to see his Maori friends at the small Maori pa of Puta ringa motu (now Lower Riccarton). At South New Brighton where the Jellicoe Street reserve is now, was another pa called Te Kai o te Karoro. The Scottish family of the Deans followed on his trail, in February 1843. (Clough was in the boat which took up the Deans). They leased Putaringamotu and a large area from the Maoris, at what may be considered, compared with all other European land deals with the natives at that time and later, an honest and generous price. Governor Sir George Grey saved the Deans family from being ousted by John Robert Godley, the agent of the Canterbury Association. The Deans brothers could only negotiate a ship's boat as far as the site of the Barbadoes street bridge. A Maori canoe was used for the further journey to Riccarton. A boat load of bricks was taken ashore at 'The Bricks' near the present Barbadoes street bridge. . . . . Artesian wells were sunk at Akaroa for Mr Wake and Dr. Dudley during 1866 and 1867 respectively. Their depth was 50 feet and the overflow was four feet above the ground. . . . . On September 25th, 1862, Gaoler E. W. Seager, of Lyttelton gaol, reported an inadequate supply of blankets, also that what there were had not been washed for three years, and were walking with lice. J. W. Hamilton, during his terms as police commissioner and magistrate, was continuously requesting humane treatment, and also requesting a gaol library. When E. W. Segar was appointed to the charge of the Sunnyside Mental Hospital in 1864, J. Reston resumed duty as gaoler at Lyttelton and continued as such until February, 1876. The gaol for female prisoners at Addington, though under a sub-gaoler, was also under his care. In March, 1876, S. Phillips became head gaoler. In 1875, the Rev. A. Sturge, of Dartmoor, England, forwarded a printing press and type to the Lyttelton gaol, in order that prisoners could learn an honest living. On June 13th, 1876, his Honour William Rolleston, Superintendent of Canterbury, obtained for the prison further equipment—a printing press, and 12 other faces of type—from Oliver, Levy and Co., of Melbourne. The Lyttelton gaol was then doing the printing for the Canterbury Provincial Government. For the quarter ending September, 30th, 1876, 20,115 forms had been worked. . . . . As early as 1859 Bully Hayes was hiding at Valpar-

aiso from the United States and other governments. About 1860 he turned up at Riverton, in Southland. On entering a hotel there, he was recognised, and a quarrel picked with him by whalers who determined to render him into pulp. However Bully Hayes discovered that discretion was better than valour and beat a hasty retreat to his schooner. This seems incredible, because he was a well-built man of 6 feet 3 inches in height. In 1863 Captain Hayes in the schooner *Blackboy* visited Nelson and took away a Maori woman who was never seen again. In 1865 he came to Lyttelton in the brig *Spray,* and on this occasion induced two barmaids from Fairhurst's 'Lyttelton Hotel' to take a trip on his vessel. They were never seen again. In 1866 he arrived at Lyttelton by the schooner *Rona,* and on this visit he tried out his attractions on the Misses Collier, but to no purpose. However, he succeeded in taking away with him on the *Rona,* the barmaid from the 'Queens Hotel.' J. W. Hamilton, of the Customs Department, and his assistant officer, suspected illicit gun running and other nefarious dealings, but before instructions were received from the General Government, the notorious sailor, scenting trouble, promptly sailed from Lyttelton. He turned up at Hokitika on December 29th, 1866, his vessel being towed in by the *S.S. Lioness.* On January 2nd, 1867 the *Rona* once more slipped away to the open sea, just before instructions for his apprehension arrived from Lyttelton. However, he took away with him from Hokitika four Maori women. These with the European woman from Lyttelton were never again traced. No doubt having served his ends, they were conveniently 'washed overboard.' 'As we sow so shall we reap' was a proverb which certainly came true in the case of Hayes. His ruffian crew at heart despised him, and when on the schooner *Lotus* off the coast of Samoa in March, 1877, he was slain by the ship's cook, not one person lamented his death. Just prior to the Great War (1914) the writer was, as secretary of a photographic association, often letter-writing to a Miss Hayes, of Berkeley University, California. This lady herself furnished the information that she was of the same stock as the notorious Captain 'Bully' Hayes, although she was not proud of it.' Mr Taylor furnished these notes to the *Ellesmere Guardian.*

The opening of New Zealand's first railway was a notable function. On December 1st, 1863 the Christchurch-Ferrymead opening was celebrated with William Sefton Moorhouse as the hero of the hour. On the previous evening the boring of the Moorhouse tunnel had been completed, a distance of 1300 yards. When the tunnel was opened in 1867 Ferrymead lost its usefulness and prominence. The track was lifted and the buildings removed. But to return to the function of December 1st, 1863 we note that Mr Samuel Bealey, the Superintendent of the Province, made an arrangement with the contractors (Holmes and Co.) whereby the Provincial Government and the contractors were to share the costs of the function on an equal basis. The costs were £900 but towards their share Holmes and Co. delivered an apparently unexpected contra account of £444 for the conveyance of 3550 passengers at 2/6 per head. Included in the account were Birdsey (caterer) £500; Kohler (band and decorations) £180; and Dalgety, Buckley and Co. (wine and beer £121. Taking into account the value of the pound at the time it must be conceded that the small colony did itself well.

In *Samuel Butler* (H. Festing Jones) we find interesting references to Dr. Fisher and Dr. Ben Moorhouse, the elder. 'In the colony Butler knew Dr. Fisher, who afterwards married Miss Arabella Buckley. He also knew Miss Buckley after his return to London. I wrote to her asking for particulars of the friendship between her husband and Butler, and she replied 12th March, 1911. 'Yes, Dr. Fisher had a sheep run called the Grampian Hills about 20 miles, I think, below Mr Butler, who used to ride over occasionally and play whist. Dr. Fisher went out in 1854 and made a large practice in Christchurch. He invested money in this sheep run with a Mr. Wynn Williams, a lawyer, and after he gave away his practice lived a good deal on the run. He sold the run in 1882 and came home. I had known him the greater part of my life, and when engaged to him in 1883 we were walking through the rooms of the Tinworth Exhibition and met Mr Butler. I shall never forget his look of amazement as he said, "Good Lord! How did you two come together?"'

In 1865 T. H. Potts was at Governors Bay living at Ohinetahi (formerly Fernbrook). His diary is of interest. Jan. 9th, 1865. Mr Coward had to leave Fernbrook for Christchurch as Mr William's child was so ill. (Coward had been staying with T. H. Potts). Jan. 11th. Sent a note in for Doctor Rouse. Ambrose and Geoff. went. The former got a spill in Corsair Bay—not hurt. The doctor says Donald's liver is sluggish. The young Cowards came here to tea on the lawn which lawn has suffered lately from croquet. Jan. 15th. All to church but T. H. P. In the afternoon T.H.P., Donald and Ambrose to Quail Island to have a good view of the arrival of the Governor, Sir George Grey. Doctor Rouse came up and said the Governor had changed his mind. March 9th. Stoddart never sent his pears to the show. Now, from his talk I had expected very strong competition between us, with Dr. Earle and Mrs Deans nearly equal, so pears would, I expected, be very closely contested. March 9th. Stoddart never sent his pears to the show. March 16th. Expecting John Studholme and party to say Goodbye as he leaves for England in the *British Empire* which has on board the most valuable cargo that ever left our port—about 7000 bales of wool. March 17th. Mr and Mrs Ben Moorhouse came with servant and child. Ben very poorly. Moorhouse asked me if I would come forward to represent the Ashburton in the Provincial Council. He has an offer for his cattle at 4d per lb on the station. March 19th. Doctor Earle came in the afternoon so we had nearly a house full. He much admired the golden drop plums which are very beautiful just now. March 20th. Doctor Barker here, taking some photographic views. Doctor Rouse here, paid his account £40/15/-. April 8th, 1865. Various parties are looking for a pass to the goldfields near Mt. Sebastapol which we named nine years ago this month. April 13th. Saw the first number of the *Canterbury Punch.* Think very little of it, making allowance for a first number, think it exceedingly dull. May 1st, 1865. Planted three Wellingtonias—seedlings from Rockwood. Dec. 2nd. E.P. to Port to see Mrs Haast at Sumner.

These few extracts serve to illustrate old activities. It would appear that in the early days doctors were sharply defined into two classes—those who took a degree and had medicine as a hobby or a philanthropic pursuit and those which kept pretty close to their work. This is what one would expect of the times.

Mr W. A. Taylor, whose knowledge of early Canterbury history is encyclopedic, has supplied the following information about the early doctors. 'Some years ago I supplied to Miss Norris of the North Canterbury Hospital the names of the doctors associated with the Lyttelton and Christchurch hospitals from 1850 to 1880 and also a list of all the Matrons and the details of the buildings. I made no notes of the doctors in private practice. I found a record that the Provincial Council offered a rural section to the first baby born in the Lyttelton Hospital but as far

as I know it could not be found who was the first baby and the section was never donated. What you say about Godley cramming Thomas into a small shed place with the dirty hospital dressings is quite correct.

"A quick run through my notes reveals the following additional facts. Doctor Catling was the medical officer for the Akaroa Hospital in the late sixties, and Doctor Durham was appointed medical officer to the same hospital on July 11th, 1874 at a salary of £50 per annum. Doctor W. O. Jennings and Doctor Bulmer were both in practice at Akaroa in 1875. Doctor Pearde was appointed to the Akaroa Hospital on Nov. 29th, 1876. Doctor McLean arrived by the *Echunga* at Timaru in 1862 and in 1863 he was appointed doctor at the Quarantine Station (Lyttelton) where he stayed till 1865. Doctor E. Butler was appointed to the Timaru Hospital in June, 1864 and resigned in February 1865. I do not know whether he was the same doctor you mentioned as being at Akaroa in the forties. Doctor McLean succeeded Butler at Timaru. On April 20th, 1865, McLean was replaced by Doctor W. B. Christy who later on was at Leeston. Doctor E. Butler took over from Christy on August 4th, 1866. Doctor Butler died in harness at Timaru and was succeeded by Doctor Fisher on December 30th, 1870. Doctor Peter McIntyre took over the Timaru Hospital on January 30th, 1873.

Doctor J. R. Ryley was in charge of the Hokitika Hospital in 1866 and in 1869 was succeeded by Doctor H. W. Maunsell. In September, 1885 Doctor Woodford succeeded Dr. Singleton as Medical Officer of the Akaroa Hospital.'

The writer is the fortunate possessor of the first nine volumes of the *New Zealand Medical Journal* which first appeared in 1887. Some interesting details of the 'horse and buggy' days of medical practice are noted in the Journal.

In 1891 the British Medical Association was asked for an opinion on the salubrity of Akaroa as a health resort. Dr. Bolger said that the resort was suitable except for its drainage and the B.M.A. replied, 'This branch of the B.M.A. cannot recommend Akaroa as a health resort while the drainage remains in an unsatisfactory condition.'

In March, 1899 the B.M.A. regretted the loss of Dr. Dearmer who had a stroke at a N.Z. Medical Association meeting. The Doctor arrived in Canterbury so early as 1863. 'His pleasant manner, and quiet unassuming dignity endeared him to patient and brother practitioner alike.' From other sources the writer has learned that this appreciation is under-stated; the Doctor was one of the finest men who ever practised in Christchurch.

At the B.M.A. meeting of October, 1890, Dr. T. Wyld Pairman reported two cases of ngerengere (leprosy).

In June, 1889 the B.M.A. deplored the death of Dr. Patrick Doyle in Melbourne from typhoid fever, and in February, 1890 the meeting deplored the death of Dr. G. A. Lewis who had been practising in Lyttelton for some years. In May, 1891 the B.M.A. discussed the case Chipper v. Meikle, and in April, 1892 the death of Dr. Preston was recorded.

In January, 1893 a member of the B.M.A. asked as to the course to be pursued when called to a case which had been attended by C. J. Russell, who, having completed his term of imprisonment, was now again practising in Christchurch.

In 1891 Dr. W. H. Symes toured the West Coast and induced many doctors to join the B.M.A. He related his experiences to the meeting and in December 1891 the meeting deplored the loss of Dr. Stackpoole, a recently elected West Coast member.

In November, 1889 the B.M.A. meeting noted the recent death of Doctor Turnbull, the first president of the Society. 'Possessed of unusual professional ability it will be long ere his geniality or his racy anecdotes forgotten.'

Up till about the turn of the century both the daily papers and the professional journals gave only short obituary notices. Apparently the members of the deceased family disliked any detailed life being published.

Much of a doctor's work depends upon the nurse; many doctors practising at the present time can remember the old type of nurse. In *The Early Days of Canterbury* we find references to some of the old nurses. 'Many old colonists will remember Mrs Chaney, the maternity nurse—a prototype of one of Dicken's mid-Victorian characters, who, when nursing a patient where Dr. Frankish—a shaven faced youthful practitioner—was the medico, replied in answer to some suggested alternative in the method she was pusuing, 'Get avay you beardless boy, vat do you know about it.'

In the same book is a tribute to Mrs Ritchie. 'And surely one of the most outstanding women of the early days was Mrs Simpson, who, with her husband came out from London in the service of Charles Bowen Senr., and proved a veritable Florence Nightingale in the newly formed settlement. Mrs Simpson was one of the finest characters among the worthy band of pilgrims. Her husband, caught in the meshes of the gold fever, went over to Australia to seek his fortune, and was never heard of again, having probably succumbed to sickness in the tropical climate of the goldfields. Mrs Simpson became the first matron of the original hospital at Lyttelton, and ministered to the spiritual as well as the physical needs of her patients. Her second husband was Captain Ritchie, and it was as Mrs Ritchie that she became so well known in every household in early Christchurch and Lyttelton. After her first husband's death, she had adopted five small children whose mother had died on the way out, and whose father had passed away in hospital shortly after landing. In addition to this load of care Mrs Ritchie had assumed full responsibility for a male patient whose spine had been seriously injured through some cargo falling upon him in the hold of one of the boats discharging in port. Captain Ritchie undertook to share this huge burden with her, but some years later he was lost at sea, his ship foundering, and all aboard were drowned. Mrs Ritchie left with one child of her own, five foster children and a helpless permanent invalid, faced her task with that heroic spirit which had ever characterised her, and lived to minister to her bedridden patient's wants for forty years, until he passed away. She lived to see her daughter and her five foster children grown to maturity and settled in homes of their own. When the original hospital was closed in Lyttelton, Mrs Ritchie transferred to Christchurch and became the first matron of the present huge institution and some years later entered into business as a dressmaker in Armagh Street, where she lived for many years, and finally passed to her reward, her memory enshrined in the hearts of hundreds of people who loved her for her motherly care and sympathetic interest she had manifested. Mrs Ritchie was the actual founder of the Pilgrim's Hospital in the infant days of the province, and her name should be engraven in letters of gold upon the portals of St. George's Hospital, which, indirectly, is the consummation of her self-sacrificing labours in the earliest years of the Canterbury Settlement.'

The writer's investigations reveal that a Mrs Simpson was the third matron of the Lyttelton Hospital and that she left to marry Captain Preece. There is no contemporary record of Mrs Simpson being at the Christchurch Hospital.

In the early days 'wife desertion' was not uncommon, not because the husband was cruel but often because he was kind. There was often no work and the husband was another mouth to feed. He would often wander away, perhaps as far as Australia to the goldfields, in search of work in the hope that he would scrape up enough money to send home to his wife and family.

In the early days when a person took ill, the first steps were taken by the friends and relatives who would do what they could for the patient. If they failed to cure, they would send for the 'nurse' or some friend with medical experience. If she failed, an unusual state of affairs, a doctor would be sent for. When a person takes ill at the present time (20th century) the only step taken is an urgent telephone message for the doctor, who arrives when he can, to find everybody sitting round preparatory to voicing criticism. The doctor is expected to do everything. The writer's knowledge of the two methods of dealing with the sick and injured leads him to the belief that the pioneering method is the best both for the patient and for the community.

Thus it was that in the early days many women acquired medical experience and common-sense. Such women were the back-bone of the country, and the writer could name scores of these capable pioneers.

One name which comes to mind is Mrs Peter Brown of Akaroa. Mr and Mrs Brown came to New Zealand in the early forties.

In the late forties Sir George Grey was in Akaroa at a time when everything was rather primitive with pigs running in the 'streets.' There was general dissatisfaction with the land arrangements for settlers, and Mrs Brown had the courage to ask could they squat on the hills. His reply was characteristic, 'You had better go there and breed children and cattle as fast as you can.' Later, the Browns were at Goashore where they suffered intense privations.

Doctors have often been paid in kind. In *The Railways Magazine* (Dec. 1st, 1929) is a reference. 'At Waimamaku, Hokianga, the Commerce Train tourists last month enjoyed the chaffing-match with Dr. G. Smith, Superintendent of Rawene, on the subject of 'trading in kind.' The Doctor suggested that it would be more advantageous to the country if instead of so much trading in finance, there were more trading in commodities, in other words, mutual barter. Mr Casey's counter to this was a suggestion that a patient could pay his doctors for an operation with say, a ham or a flitch of bacon. This payment in kind was not always mere matter for a joke at a convivial gathering. I remember well enough that it was the only way in which country settlers could discharge their indebtedness. There was once, for instance, a genial Irish doctor in the Upper Waikato whose patients paid him with a ton of firewood or half-a-ton of potatoes, or a load of fruit and vegetables, or a supply of oats for his horse; now and again a sheep or a few sides of bacon. This was all very well in one way, but the doctor used to complain, good naturedly enough, that he couldn't pass the bacon or the 'spuds' on to the town business house which supplied him with drugs for his surgery, and that when he wanted to buy a medical book to keep himself abreast of the times it wouldn't be a bit of use shipping a ton of tawa logs to the bookseller.'

Books and books could be written about the activities of doctors who have left the profession, voluntarily or involuntarily. In the gold rushes medical men were everywhere. In Canterbury the usual 'escape' has always been farming though at present horse-racing seems to be gaining ground. But it is hard to determine when a hobby becomes an occupation. Hugh Smith (the Bard of Inangahau) who composed *Poems of an Ayrshire Scot,* came to New Zealand in 1875 and was engaged as station-cook by Reid of Elderslie. When he got up to the station he noted that, 'A person called Dr. Mene, who for some reason had got away from his profession, had kept things going in the kitchen till a cook should be installed. When Hugh arrived, the doctor very kindly informed him of what would be required the following day: thirty-six rouseabouts would be in for breakfast at 7 a.m.; bread would be supplied by the baker from the township of Weston; milk and meat would be left in the dining-room by the station milkman. In a short time the shearers and harvesters arrived and with this increase Hugh had often a hundred to cook for.'

The locum doctor must have been an able man.

Modern medical practice has many faults. In the pioneering days sickness was considered rather a disgrace, and doctors tried to teach patients how to work in spite of their incurable disorders. To-day, we tend to gauge the health of the people by the numbers entering the hospitals. At the present time, about 19,000 people in New Zealand are in hospital at any one time. Again, we note that specialists are experts in detecting abnormalities, and this is not always to the advantage of the patient. A letter from the *Game and Gun* (November, 1944) serves to illustrate my point. 'Sir,—I have been interested in reading about the decrease in blackgame and how some of the blackgame which were sent for diagnosis were all found to be suffering from disease. It reminds me of the old family doctor who told my father more than sixty years ago that it was a poor sort of specialist who could not find something wrong. It was my custom before the war to send to the Editorial Staff of a well known weekly paper a hamper of grouse. On account of their destination they were picked with the greatest of care and well packed with the usual bits of heather. One year, however, through an error, instead of going to the Editorial Staff, they were sent to be "vetted." Every one was found to be suffering from at least two diseases and the report was so bad that I could hardly bring myself to eat grouse again, and this in a good year when there was no disease. Perhaps our old family doctor was not far wrong.'

The story of emigration in the Provincial days of Canterbury is an interesting sidelight. Fitzgerald, though an able man, was largely under the influence of Godley, a noted opponent of the Scotch. Thus it was that, speaking generally, Scots were discouraged. Mr W. A. Taylor has supplied some data revelant to this subject. He says, 'The first Superintendent of Canterbury, the Hon. James Edward Fitzgerald, and the Hon. William Sefton Moorhouse, who filled that high office on two terms, treated the question of nationality of emigrants broadly and discreetly, and certainly Scotsmen were not discouraged as emigrants. . . . . However, immediately on his being elected Superintendent of the province, his Honour Mr Samuel Bealey, from 1863 to 1866, instructed John Marshman, the emigration agent in London, to block Scotsmen coming to Canterbury as they were "too thrifty and industrious." To these instructions John Marshman replied in his official letter dated March 21st, 1863: "You advised me a short time since you did not want Scotsmen on any account, and I have discouraged all their applications." On February 11th, 1863, the Canterbury Provincial Government voted the sum of £5000 to the British Emigration Board to emigrate people from the distressed area of Lancashire, England. All will consider this was of benefit to the Province. Mr Bealey, though he disliked Scotsmen, had no such feeling towards Germans and Austrians. This is clearly recorded in official documents. He offered Phillip Fisch £1 per

head plus 5 per cent of the passage money to bring out Germans to the province from the poorest quarters in the German cities, and he prevailed on the Canterbury Provincial Government to sanction the bonus to the agent bringing out the German emigrants. The bonus for Germans was authorised on July 14th, 1863. Many of these people made excellent New Zealanders, but unfortunately others did not, being indolent and dirty. The public records show that they were long a source of trouble to the authorities. . . . . The greatest of the Superintendents of Canterbury (without the slightest doubt) was the Hon. William Rolleston. Posterity will acknowledge this more as the years roll by. Mr Rolleston completely reversed Mr Bealey's views on emigration. He instructed Andrew Duncan to bring out Scottish emigrants, also Irish Scots from the North of Ireland. He specially requested the agent to obtain Highland crofters and shepherds to build up the country districts of Canterbury. As the shepherds would not be separated from their collie dogs, he allowed £5 per dog for every such animal accompanying its master to Canterbury. On January 21st, 1874, Mr G. C. Tripp and Mr Acland of South Canterbury, commenced the bringing out of Scotsmen. Sir Julius Vogel, Premier of New Zealand, wrote in a similar manner to the Hon. William Rolleston on June 4th, 1874. In *The Jubilee History of South Canterbury* the views of Mr Acland on Scottish service on his runs appears in print. Acland considered the Scots worked hard and conscientiously, but were sticklers for the terms of their engagements (especially so the Scottish women-folk). . . . . The Deans and other Scots were here first, and this may contribute partly a reason why they flourished in spite of Mr Bealey's edict.'

Mr Taylor's conclusion is very much to the point: the pre-Adamite and other early Scotch settlers were ever ready to extend a helping hand to Scotch emigrants whether assisted or not. A Scot was always sure to be tried in a position of responsibility and he generally made good. There can be no doubt that the Scotch shepherds were and are a mainstay in the one essential Canterbury industry.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE REV. F. G. BRITTAN

In November, 1944 the writer called, with his wife, on Mr Brittan, the sole survivor of the *First Four Ships*. He looked well for his age, he was ninety-seven, and his strong resounding voice and mental alertness were remarkable. Several times during the conversation we were treated to almost brilliant wit. Two very able women looked after his house, and towards these Mr Brittan showed invariable kindness and consideration. With regard to the early doctors of Canterbury, the writer took down Mr Brittan's comment verbatim.

'I remember Doctor Earle who lived on the Heathcote very clearly. He was an original purchaser in England from the Association and was well known for his gardening, but if he practised it was not much. I can't remember Doctor Willis but he was an original purchaser. You say Doctor Wilkinson was the doctor on my ship, the *Sir George Seymour*, but I know nothing of him. Perhaps he soon went back to England. Doctor Burrell Parkerson who lived near St. Michael's was our family doctor. He, also, was an original purchaser, coming from Norfolk with a strong Norfolk accent. I remember he always used to say, "I am only an old family doctor." He had a large family and some of the boys were good cricketers.

'I knew Doctor Watkins of Akaroa but was never much associated with him. Doctor Henry Richards, whose father was an original purchaser,

FG, Brittan's reminiscences

came out with us in the *Sir George Seymour*. He soon went up to Rockwood and seldom came to town. I knew the Doctor and many of his family well—very good people. The Richards are associated in my mind with the Cordys. Doctor Coward who lived near the Royal Hotel came from Sherborne, Dorset, where I was born. My father owned the *Sherborne Mercury* and it was there that he got to know Gibbon Wakefield, who lived at Sherborne. In the end my father became vice-chairman of the Canterbury Association. Lord Lyttelton was in the chair. A young Lord Lyttelton was out here some years ago playing cricket. I heard that he wished to meet or know something of the Pilgrims and so I presented myself as a Pilgrim. We had a long talk during which he said he was the great grandson of the Lord Lyttelton we knew.

Doctor Hilson began in practice with Doctor Turnbull. I think Dr. Frankish began at Southbridge but later he was well known in town. Southbridge is associated in my mind with the Bridge family. I remember Dr. Powell, who was an eye doctor, very well, as was Dr. Steadman who lived in Armagh Street. I think Dr. Rouse of Lyttelton was for a time a partner of Dr. Parkerson. I often stayed with Dr. Weld of Oxford when taking occasional services in the church. He was an Oxford man, and his son, Steve, was a fine chap. I know nothing of the Doctor's ability but the people used to call him a kind-hearted old man.

'We knew Dr. T. R. Moore and his family very well and one of my relations was trustee for the family. He was our doctor for visiting. I remember Mrs Moore being ill a good deal and much confined to the sofa. The Doctor was at Charteris Bay for a time. One of his daughters married Leslie Thomson, and another first Murphy and then Blunden. Tom was at College with me—a fine cricketer. Later he went up to Hawkes Bay. Another daughter married Targett.

'Of course we all knew Dr. Barker who lived opposite. He seemed everything in the town. For many years he went about in a sort of one-horse machine taking pictures and people called it the "travelling medium." They used to say, "No, we don't get the newspaper, but we have Dr. Barker." I remember the studding sail well. At one time there were only four buildings in Christchurch, St. Michael's, Dr. Barker's, our house, and the Land Office. My father had, of necessity, to live near the Land Office.

'Doctor Donald was everything at Lyttelton. I remember a Pilgrim arriving at Lyttelton. First he got his ticket from the Doctor, then the Doctor registered the birth of a child, etc., etc., and , finally, there was a death in the family and the Doctor, perhaps being in some doubt, suggested the cause as being, "Died of a visitation by Donald." Thatcher the poet made up some verses on the Doctor. The Doctor was pock-marked, and to one emigrant he said, "I am delighted to see you here. Before you came I was the ugliest man in Canterbury and now I will have to take second place."

'My father and his brother were both Doctors but never practised in Canterbury. My father, who had been for a time in the East, brought out cows, partridges etc., etc., including a sun-dial, now in the Public Gardens. Early Christchurch residents often came into our garden to look at the sun-dial, and I remember a merry party striking matches to look at the time.

'I am the last survivor of the *First Four Ships*. The other day the newspapers said I was hale and hearty. I can't see very well or hear very well, but I can still talk and garden. Put me in the garden and give me a

Sir the survivor now in WGS's garden.

long-handled shovel and I am happy. If they raise a statue to me I hope they will also put up a shovel. My gardening, my fruit, my flowers, and my vegetables keep me well. On the *Sir George Seymour* I fell down the hold on to the back of my head, a serious accident from which my friends say I made a very slow recovery.

'My friends are too numerous. When taking country services people were very kind. The Wilfrid Halls always took me for the week-end, Wilfrid was always such a nice fellow and Millie was always jovial. The Potts and Dobsons have been very good friends all my life, and now I have Donald with me at the College. The Phillips were also life-long friends, Mrs Potts was the beauty of that family. You mention Moorhouse, who was the second Superintendent. My uncle had no chance against him because he had just made a name for himself over the Tunnel. You hear many stories about the early days. Of these I like the pun in Latin made by Jacobs when Fitzgerald's tandem came up. Jacobs was a fellow of Queens College. The first of the Pilgrims to set foot on Canterbury—Mountfort who was sitting in the bow of the boat was stuttering about being the first to land when Fitzgerald said, "No, you don't" and leap-frogged over Mountfort. This was very characteristic of the first Superintendent.

'Do come to see me any time you want to know more about the early doctors. Take my advice—if you write a book, pad it out. As for myself, I have seldom needed doctors, and until I was seventy, something less than a shilling covered my medical expenses.'

As padding, Mr Brittan recommended extracts from the *Canterbury Papers*. This certainly makes good reading if you don't mind small print. In it we find the names and addresses of the one hundred and forty-three original purchasers. Mr A. H. Johnstone states that complete sets of the *Papers* are worth at least twenty-five pounds, and he heard of one man who burnt about ten complete sets without knowing their value.

In the early days most doctors were individualists. Nevertheless social contacts were free. To the best of my knowledge the first Society was the Medical and Chirurgical Society of 1865. A meeting was held at Dr. J. W. S. Coward's house in Oxford Terrace near the Royal Hotel on Nov. 30th and a Society formed with Dr. Llewellyn Powell as Honorary Secretary. I am anxious to know more about this Society. The first number of *New Zealand Medical Journal* was published in September, 1887. In that Journal we find that in 1873 or 1874 Dr. Hocken formed a Medical Association in Dunedin and that in 1876 the Otago Branch of the New Zealand Medical Association was formed. Previous to 1886 there was a Canterbury Medical Society. In April, 1886 the various societies in the large towns combined to form the Association as we know it to-day. The Christchurch Congress of 1888 adopted a 'Code of Ethics.' Years ago I saw a copy of this code. Now I am anxious to have one. In 1890 Dr. W. M. Stenhouse reported the first successful case of Caesarean section in New Zealand stating, 'and, I believe, the second that has occurred in all Australasia.' Doctor A. C. Barker takes the honour of being the first gazetted legally qualified medical practitioner on January 27th, 1851, but we must remember that Doctor Donald of Lyttelton began in November, 1849 before the arrival of *The First Four Ships*.

In my opinion, societies have not greatly influenced modes of practice in New Zealand. The first list of Registered Medical Practitioners was published in the *New Zealand Gazette* in 1868 and, after that date, lists were published regularly. Various 'Directories' before 1868 contained lists

of 'Doctors' and the *New Zealand Directory* of 1867 had a long list. In the early days, many men practised by 'licence' and some of the licenced doctors lived to almost modern times. Among the 'licensees' were many able men. The degree fetish began in earnest about the turn of the century with a concurrent and perhaps causative decline in the idea of apprenticeship. Well informed modern critics of medical practice favour a return to older ideas.

In 1889 Clifford Allbutt said, 'At Cambridge, there used to be a step called the Licence to Practice which was not granted until a year had elapsed after first graduation; this step, now disused, might well be revived in the manner I have indicated. And, thus apprenticed, you would not only receive, but give also. The practitioner who received you would, while finishing your dexterities, learn, in his turn, the freshest ideas of the schools; an ever new and eager young graduate, year by year, would quicken his thoughts, and not permit them to become atheromatous. Fancy yourselves, gentlemen, not bottle-washers but missionaries in partibus-ministers of light.' In the same year the *British Medical Journal* commented on a speech of Rickman Godlee, 'Turning, then, to the student as he was and as he is, reference was made to the old method of apprenticeship, which taught the student chiefly two things which were not good for him: first, how to make up medicines before he knew anything of disease; and, secondly, a sort of confidence in treating diseases before he knew what was inside a patient's skin. The revival of this ancient custom was strongly deprecated.'

The modern conception is that the two methods should be combined, but this mode of thought leaves out of count the almost insuperable difficulty of combining any two branches of human activity. The mixture falls short in almost every trial.

Although the writer cannot speak from inside knowledge it would seem that, in Christchurch at any rate, freemasonry has been one of the greatest factors in maintaining our high standard of honour and integrity in medical practice. Could the writer have had access to the records of this 'body' he would have been able to write a much better account of the lives of the early doctors.

The *Christchurch Street Directory* of 1864 lists the following doctors. *Christchurch*: E. W. Alexander, W. Deamer, A. Florance, J. W. S. Coward, J. Frankish, R. Iliffe, C. Leach, H. H. Prins, S. S. Steadman. *Lyttelton*: C. Motley, J. T. Rouse. I am anxious to obtain any information about these doctors.

Wise's Directory of 1875 lists the following. *Christchurch*: F. G. M. Brittin, J. W. S. Coward, W. Deamer, P. Doyle, A. Florance, J. D. Frankish, John Guthrie, T. Bell Hay, E. Husband, Courtney Nedwill, W. H. Ovenden, John Parker, Burrel Parkerson, Burrell Parkerson junior, S. A. Patrick, L. Powell, H. H. Prins, H. Richards, W. H. Symes, J. S. Turnbull, Moritz Mark. *Hokitika*: G. H. Acheson, F. Dermott, T. H. Garland, F. Rossetti, D. J. Young. *Westport*: P. J. Bruen, J. Giles. *Lyttelton*: D. Campbell, W. Donald, C. Motley, J. T. Rouse. *Leeston*: H. J. H. Chapman, W. B. C. Christy. *Chatham Islands*: S. J. Cooper. *Rangiora*: J. B. Downes. *Kaiapoi*: C. Dudley, Matthew Morris, J. E. Trevor. *Prebbleton*: W. H. Symes. *Ross*: W. H. Hosking, D. P. James, F. M. Zurhorst. *Kaikoura*: H. F. Meadows. *Rangitata*: Ben Moorhouse. *Greymouth*: C. L. Morice, Patrick Smith. *Akaroa*: D. Watkins, E. B. Pearson. *Montrose Hurunui*: W. E. Phillips. *Havelock Marlborough*: J. E. Weld. My notes on these doctors are still incomplete and I am anxious to have information.

A superficial study of the medical history in Christchurch leads me to believe that it was J. S. Turnbull who did more than any other to place practice on a firm footing. All of the medical men were of high standing, but Turnbull had the necessary qualities to tide the methods of practice over into the intermediate epoch.

In the Pilgrim Corner of the Canterbury Museum can be seen photographs of Dr. Rayner, Dr. T. R. Moore, Dr. Fisher, Dr. Back, Dr. Powell and Dr. Dudley. The last-named arrived in the *Labuan* in August, 1851. The writer has been informed that Dr. Back lived in the Holmwood Road, and that he was the manager of the railways.

In the *Weekly Press* (December 15th, 1900) many doctors are depicted, mostly from photographs taken by Dr. A. C. Barker, and there is a good photograph of Dr. Ben Moorhouse and his family outside the Shepherds Bush station house.

The writer has been informed that Dr. Bolger and Dr. Fisher once practised in the Bays.

In the early days many doctors included dentistry and pharmacy with medical practice, and in fact some of them developed the chemist side to the exclusion of other practice. Some chemist shops were owned and served by medical men. The earliest recorded chemist in Canterbury was A. Bayfield who in July, 1853 advertised that he was starting business in Canterbury Street, Lyttelton and Ferry Road, Christchurch. The first recorded dentist was D. C. Anderson near the White Hart Hotel. He was dentist and watch and clock maker.

DOCTOR A. C. BARKER

Alfred Charles Barker was born in 1819 and died on March 20th, 1873. Few medical men in New Zealand have been so well known as Dr. Barker. In the immediate post-Pilgrim days of Christchurch his services were invaluable. 'Send for Doctor Barker' was the usual advice in case of sickness or accident. He was born in London the son of Joseph Gibbs Barker who lived at various times in Birmingham, Cambridge, Hereford and Kenilworth. Barker was at King's College and then practised at Matlock, Bath and Rugby. He married Emma, the daughter of Samuel Outram Bacon.

The Doctor was one of the original purchasers under the Canterbury Association and was appointed Surgeon Superintendent to the *Charlotte Jane*. 'In a letter to a relation in the year 1850, he mentioned with pride having been chosen to go as surgeon in charge of the emigrants on board the ship Charlotte Jane, and in another to his father he asks for his prayers for a blessing on his attempt to give the boons of wholesome life and the rewards of industry to many by whom they were otherwise unobtainable. There was no more enthusiastic adherent to Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theories of colonisation, and he always remembered with gratitude the financial aid rendered to Canterbury at a critical moment by the late Lord Lyttelton, and the benefit of the upright and high-minded guidance given to the pioneers by the Association's Agent, John Robert Godley. In later years he would strive to keep his family in remembrance of all they owed under Providence to these men of the advantages they enjoyed in a new country. Many men of his industry and traditions (for he and his brothers received university education) would have aimed at providing his sons with learned professions, but he always said, "What can they want better than to be settled on the land?" thus proving the sincerity of his professions of belief in the axioms of the great prophet of colonisation.'

Arriving at Lyttelton on December 16th, 1850 he settled his family at Day's Hotel, Sumner while he put up a habitation in Worcester Street, living first in a dug-out and then in his famous V hut (studding sail villa). In January, 1851 this hut was used by the purchasers while drawing their rural and town sections at the Land Office near-by. The Doctor's garden extended from Cathedral Square along Worcester Street to Oxford Terrace. Mr Brittain lived opposite on the site of the Clarendon Hotel and his Land Office was on the site of the old Council Chambers. The Doctor was a member of the Council of the Society of Land Purchasers which, with Godley, ruled most things in Canterbury till provincal government came into being. Though the Doctor had little taste for public life he was a member of the Provincial Council from 1855 to 1857.

The Doctor's interests and hobbies were legion. Geology, botany, Darwinism and other scientific interests claimed his attention and led to correspondence with Owen, Huxley and others. Records show that he read papers at the Canterbury Philosophical Institute in 1872 and 1873. Many records state that the Doctor's interests were studious and scientific but there can be no doubt that social and business matters were not neglected. He was a remarkably able photographer and many of his sketches are preserved in the Museum of which he was a trustee. Keen to further any intellectual or literary projects, he was a fellow of Christ's College and was a member of the first Committee of Management of the Christchurch Hospital. Another interest was architecture and the College Library was built from his plans after his death. He also designed the lower part of Ross's School.

One of the Doctor's family recorded (18) the following reminiscences. 'He used to tell us he once met a man early in 1851 struggling about in the high scrub in Cathedral Square, and demanding to be shown the road to Christchurch. That was Mr T. Hawdon, of Heidelberg, Melbourne, afterwards a well known resident here, and a member of the Legislative Council. And in return for the hospitality he received that night he shortly afterwards sent seeds and plants from Victoria to my mother, our famous gum trees, the tallest and largest in Christchurch. . . . . What year was it in which the Harewood forest was burned? For I remember the smoke in Christchurch, and the ashes falling in our garden, and my father's accident, which prevented his ever riding again, took place in 1855. I certainly remember before that date—for in my mind's eye, I still see him as I stood one day in the verandah facing the Brittan's house (Clarendon Hotel now) mounting his horse Sam Slick, and riding away along the river bank past St. Michael's, and what is now the Hospital corner, all the time through rough flax and toi-toi, but never lost to sight for long till the track dipped into Dilloway's Gully before the Plough Inn on the Riccarton Road. That was where the first baker had his oven cut in the bank. . . . . On down towards the Ferry Road one came to Smart's the fashionable boardinghouse. Mrs Smart gave me bread and rhubarb jam when my nurse went to see her. Beyond that, towards the hills, was the only road leading to Lyttelton, through Sumner and over the Zig-zag, and to the right was a rough track to Cashmere, where Sir Cracroft lived before his return to India and all the horror of the Mutiny. His wife and daughter used to come into town in a dray to shop. In drays, too, sociable people used to go past Cashmere to Hoon Hay Bush for picnics. I must have been taken to one for I recollect being swung by gay young people in a supplejack swing that hung over the bush-fellers' track where the trees met overhead. . . . . Still the Maoris found their way on market days

down that road from Kaiapoi, stringing along in picturesque file, some on foot, and some two at a time on horseback, and many swarmed our verandah seeking cure of all ills from my father. I wish he had taken a photograph at that date to show that Maori cavalcade, but that art came later, and he was too busy to do much sketching. . . . . By the Fendalton track to Milford (Mr Bowen's house) the bracken fern grew over our heads in height, splendid for hide and seek, but some sort of road must have existed, for Mr Bowen was then setting up the first carriage in Christchurch. (excepting Captain Westenra's Irish car), a neat English dogcart, the admiration of all beholders. I can recollect nothing of Riccarton, except a family walk to call on Mrs Deans, and a rich cake and wine being handed round to a roomful of people (Archdeacon Mathias among them), according to the fashion of those days. But that must have been very early in date, for I rode part of the way home on my father's shoulder. . . . . The great event of 1857 was the arrival of Bishop Harper and his family. A small house (afterwards Dr. Turnbull's, near the Public Library) was taken for them till Bishop's Court could be built, and well do I remember watching from our balcony how they got out of some conveyance (I have forgotten what manner of vehicle it was) at the little Worcester Street footbridge, and, each carrying some hat box or other small baggage, walked one by one over to the house—fourteen precious souls all told, I believe—the last being a pretty little boy of my own age with large patterned tartan stockings, now Dr. Harper in London. . . . . Only the other day I heard of a cave, partly boarded up in the red cliffs, near Sumner, being pointed out in all good faith as the refuge in which our parents had camped the night of their long tramp from Lyttelton to Christchurch via the Zig-zag—and my informants were quite difficult to convince that they had really gone round by boat, and that if they had walked it would certainly have been by the Bridle Path as the Zig-zag Road was not then half made. . . . . there was not want of manly vigour in the young surgeon, who in the intervals of his professional duties helped his man to " hump " upon their shoulders sapling trees from Riccarton Bush to the centre of Christchurch to hold up the double balcony he was ambitious of adding to his house, where some of the rough bark was still to be seen upon the posts when it was pulled down for removal thirty odd years later. . . . . In the year 1855 my father was thrown from his horse, 'Sam Slick,' and was dragged for some distance, with the result of a spinal injury that eventually, combined with the crushing effects of bereavement, obliged him to relinquish his practice, which he disposed of to his friend the late Dr. Parkerson. At home during his holiday tours his pencil had always been busy, and he has left us charming mementos of those happy days—mostly in Wales, but with one short visit to the scenes of " The Lady of the Lake " whole cantos of which poem he used to repeat to us with delight. Later, during the five years he passed in Rugby, where he formed a life-long friendship with the family of the late Charles Bowen, first Speaker of the Provincial Council, he had taken daguerrotypes rather successfully. So when Mr B. W. Mountfort (afterwards well known as the architect of the Provincial Chambers) for a short time during his early struggles in Christchurch about the year 1856-57 practised portrait photography in Colombo Street, my father applied to him for lessons, and later photography became the consolation of his slow convalescence, and the amusement of the remainder of his life. . . . . Then the chemicals. If short of gold or silver for the baths, he would not think of waiting for the " box from England " the expectation of which formed such an important part of life in those days. " No, why not melt

down a few sovereigns or some silver snuffer dishes etc?" And no remonstration from us prevailed on him to spare the old silver. Then his copying camera! I wonder if the modern one is at all like the huge deal box his was. Great was his delight when he heard the good-natured neighbours had reported, when he was making it in the wider part of his hall, that the " old doctor's last eccentricity was making his own coffin!" Years before that, he had built a sort of van for distant photographic expeditions before dry plates had been invented, and I can only regret that his health did not permit of his making use of it for longer journeys, so that most of his views are in the neighbourhood of Christchurch, or of Geraldine, near his farm. He would indeed have felt rewarded for all his trouble could he have seen his photograhps proving to be the best available pictorial record of the early days of the Province in this Jubilee year. He often spoke of the future days of the Colony, especially longing to see the time when he might attend daily service in the Cathedral; for all his youth was passed in the shadow of Hereford Cathedral, his birthplace being one of the oldest houses in St. Peter's Square. But when we told him he would, of course, live to celebrate our Jubilee, he always said doctors seldom live to be really old, and since his accident he well knew that he should not, and we remembered this when we lost him, after a short illness, at the early age of fifty-four, though he had long been known to all his former patients as " the old doctor." . . . . . A funny consequence of his democratic ideas was his utter disregard of appearances, and scorn of social " side "—a consequence often mortifying the vanity of his family—but amusing to those who will remember, for instance, seeing him in the quaintest garb and a large sun hat propelling himself along the principal streets in the great tricycle, which was his latest manufacture.'

The *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* has a full life history of the Doctor. He was severely thrown from his horse in 1855 and this left some spinal trouble, and in 1858 he lost his wife. By 1859 he had given up practice devoting himself to his many hobbies and pursuits. Many of his descendants have been prominent citizens. The Doctor was a member of the first Committee of Management of the Christchurch Hospital.

In *Sumner* (J. F. Menzies) we read that the residential portion of Clifton is contained within Rural Section 418 which extended from Nayland Street via the Zig-zag to the southern boundaries of the sections facing Victoria Terrace with the eastern side of Cliff Street as the west boundary. This section of 50 acres was granted by the Crown to Doctor Barker on September 19th, 1856 for £150. In the same month the Doctor bought R.S. 410 which includes part of the Redcliffs rifle range and the eastern side of Monck's Spur for £150, and on August 22nd, 1872 the section was sold to A. C. Watson for £375.

Lake Coleridge run was taken up in two runs of thirty-two and sixteen thousand acres on August 20th, 1855 by Doctor Barker, Harman and Davie. Acland (21) says ' Dr. Barker seems to have bought out his partners very soon, and about 1860 sold Lake Coleridge to George Arthur Emileus Ross, who soon afterwards took Charles John Harper into partnership.'

Writing of the Orari and Pakahi runs Acland (21) says, ' South of the Rangitata and beginning at the sea the first station was Pakahi, but as Pakahi was for many years a part of Orari, the station above it, it is convenient to take the two together. Before it was subdivided, Orari covered all the country between the Rangitata and Orari rivers from the sea to the line of the present road running from the Upper Orari bridge to Proudfoot's Corner. Colonel Campbell originally allotted this country on

27th September, 1853, in four runs which he numbered 16, 24, 25, and 26. He allotted C. R. Blakiston twenty-five thousand acres from the sea inland. West of Blakiston he allotted twenty thousand acres to W. K. Macdonald. G. W. H. Lee came next with twenty thousand acres, and above Lee came R. J. S. Harman with twenty-five thousand acres. In those days the Orari river was called the 'Cocks.' Blakiston, Lee and Harman are all mentioned in the accounts of other stations. None of them ever occupied his Orari run, which he either forfeited, abandoned, or sold to the Macdonald Brothers. One of the runs probably Harman's, was taken up again or purchased by Dr. Barker who could not find stock for it, so sold it to the Macdonalds for £50. When Brittan took over the administration in 1854, he re-numbered these runs 17, 20, 32, and 33 N.Z.R., and issued them to William Kenneth Macdonald and his brothers (Doctor) Allan Ronald and Angus. In February, 1858, they took up the Rangitata Island (Run 238) under the Canterbury regulations.'

In another place in this book the writer has recorded the activities of Colonel Campbell. It is interesting to note that Doctor Barker was an early applicant for a run outside the Canterbury Block .

John Deans writing to J. Y. Deans in 1853 (II) says, 'Your letter per *Hampshire* is the only one that any of us have received and not a single newspaper. I have sent you from time to time the *Lyttelton Times* and two or three *Wellington Independents,* from which you will see the news more fully than I can give you. Sewell will have a difficult mission to fulfil here. His stoutest opponents are Fitzgerald and Dr. Barker as "Z.Y.X." and "Syphax." Burnand and one of the surveyors (Mr Cridland) are not always the best authority on the favourable prospects of the settlement, but I think Canterbury will go ahead. The pilgrims are the worst payers I ever had to do with, and as soon as I can get them out of my books, I will steer as clear of them as possible.'

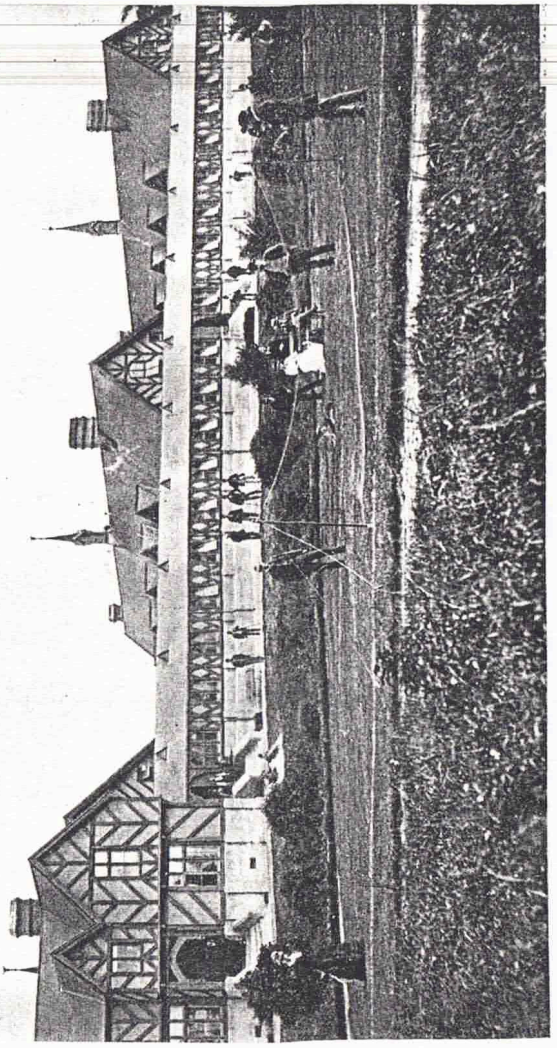
DOCTOR EARLE

In the list of original purchasers from the Canterbury Association we see the name of James William Earle, Surrey Street, Norwich. The Doctor lived at Opawa close to his friend and 'partner' John Shearing Willis. Many early station diaries refer to Doctor Earle, and early horticultural records show that his knowledge in this direction was out of the ordinary. Other doctors who came out in the *First Four Ships* were Dr. Wilkinson and Dr. Henry Richards who settled at the Malvern Hills. In the fifties, Dr. J. H. Martin practised in Christchurch and Akaroa, leaving Akaroa in 1859 after his wife died to go to Riverton. He subsequently became a well known man in Southland.

DOCTOR JOHN SHEARING WILLIS

J. S. Willis married Agnes, daughter of Dr. Klipsch of Eversham. At his hospital he was a gold medallist with leanings towards eye work and general surgery. In 1851 he was 44 and so not a young pioneer. His selection was 100 acres at Opawa where he lived at 'Hawford.' On the other side of the Heathcote lived Dr. Earle at 'The Grange.' Tradition is that Earle was the physician and Willis the surgeon. We know that he had Maori patients. At the time the Opawa Maoris were in constant contact with the Europeans.

Doctor Willis came to a tragic end. Cowan's coach had started for Southbridge and had got as far as the AI Hotel (corner of Colombo and



TENNIS. CHRISTCHURCH HOSPITAL

Dr J. S. Willis

Cashel streets) when the horse, which the Doctor was riding in the street, shied and backed between the headers and leaders whereby the Doctor was thrown. This was on April 30th, 1869. He was taken into the house of his friend, Dr. S. A. Patrick who lived in Cashel Street and died at 7.15 p.m. on May 2nd. On May 3rd, Dr. J. W. S. Coward, the coroner, held an inquest at the Clarendon Hotel with Mr Ruddenklau as foreman of the jury which gave a verdict of 'accidental death.' Dr. Patrick gave evidence and stated that the deceased never regained consciousness and that he died from injury to the brain. The Doctor was buried in Heathcote Cemetery on May 6th, the undertaker being Alfred Osborn.

In those days the newspapers did not publish detailed 'lives' and accidents occupied much of the space. About the same time, a man was killed in North Canterbury and Dr. Matthew Morris was the coroner. Much of the papers was taken up with the visit of Prince Alfred, and Doctor Haast was describing at length a stranded ziphid whale at New Brighton. Haast nearly always had a column. On May 3rd, Dr. S. A. Patrick advertised that he could be consulted at Mrs Derry's, Winchester Street, Lyttelton, every Tuesday and Friday from 1 p.m. to 3 p.m.

As yet, I have not found any person to describe details of Doctor Willis's methods of practice but I have every reason to state that he was a very clever doctor.

Mrs G. M. Ensor, of 'Coniston,' Hoon Hay, one of the Doctor's grandchildren has sent the following information:—'The Doctor's father was squire of Fakenham, Norfolk, where the Doctor spent his boyhood. His father died when the Doctor was quite young. Later, after qualifying M.D. and F.R.C.S. from St. Thomas's (we have no documentary evidence but it is fairly definite), he was at Guy's and then practised at Cheltenham. He came to New Zealand in the *Isabella Hercus* in 1851 as ship's doctor with his wife and three daughters. The rest of the family were born in New Zealand. He was thrown from his horse and killed in May, 1869.

'His daughter Agnes married Edward Harman, of Lanesfield, Opawa; Emma married Alfred R. Newberry, R.N., of Northor, Opawa; and Mary married Edward J. T. Ford, of Morton, Opawa. The Doctor was keen on his garden and was one of those who imported seeds from Australia. When some of these came up a number of blue gums also came up, and he gave some of these to Doctor Earle and Sir Michael le Fleming. Some of the trees still standing at Riverlaw (once the home of the le Flemings and now owned by Colonel Smith) were planted by Emma Willis. He also gave Mr William Wilson his first cabbage plants for his market garden.

'Dr. Willis imported two horses from Australia, paying £200 each, which he used on his farm and for carting wood from the Papanui Bush. As horses were at a premium in those days they were often borrowed, until one day one of his neighbours accidentally drowned the horses crossing a river. When the Doctor and his wife were first living at Opawa, the Maoris were sometimes troublesome and the Doctor and his wife slept with pistols under their pillows. On one occasion a Maori came to the Doctor with a wen on the throat, which he soon removed, and after this, in gratitude, the Maori always slept at the door of the house when the Doctor was away for the protection of the family. He used to say, "You go to Dr. Willis, he cut your throat and make you better."

'I have a photograph of the Doctor taken from a painting, should you care for one. It was painted about 1850. My information about the gums at Opawa is correct; I have it from both sides since Sir Michael le Fleming was my husband's uncle.'

The mention of the name Newbery reminds the writer that Mrs Ensor recently furnished to the daily papers some information about Newbery, the well known publisher of children's books.

Mrs T. S. Kesteven, a grand-daughter of Doctor Willis, was kind enough to show me several family records. The Doctor's wife was a descendant of the Savages of Rocksavage and a member of this family came to New Zealand. The family have always taken an interest in Savage Clubs. The Marquess of Cholmondeley is a notable member of the family. The Doctor's son, Charles F. T. Willis was, for a time, a partner of Fuhrman in the Molesworth and Tarndale stations, and was one of many who suffered financial loss in those Cinderellas.

DOCTOR SAMUEL HODGKINSON

Doctor Samuel Hodgkinson, who later became a well known man in Southland, was, for a time, a runholder in Canterbury. Apparently he did not practise here. The Doctor was born in Nottingham in 1817, and had a large experience in England and Paris. He came to Nelson in the *Bombay* in 1842, then to South America and the United States, and back to England to practise again. In 1846 he went out to Australia where he had an adventurous career. In 1851, he took up Run 246 on the Waipara known as the Doctor's Hill though the original name was Birch Hollow. His health failed and he returned to England where he 'promoted' colonisation, and it was largely on his advice that William Rolleston came to New Zealand. He left the run and sheep in charge of Hunter Brown of Double Corner. L.G.D. Acland says, 'In 1855 G. H. Moore (of Glenmark) bought the freehold of the better part of the run, and Hunter Brown sold him Hodgkinson's remaining leasehold with the sheep soon afterwards, so that the whole place became part of Glenmark. . . . . He (the Doctor) wrote quite a good pamphlet on sheep farming in Canterbury, and several others on political and religious subjects. G. H. Moore never freeholded the actual hills called the Doctors, and when they were sold by the Midland Railway Company in 1889, Frank Courage, of Seadown, bought them.'

The rest of the Doctor's life is described in Dr. Fulton's book and in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. The Dictionary says, 'He had throughout life a voluminous correspondence with scientific men (including Lecky and Goldwin Smith); and he wrote many pamphlets on social and political topics. As long ago as 1860 he wrote on close settlement versus large estates; and for many years after the passing of the education act in 1877 he advocated Bible reading in state schools. Hodgkinson died on 10th January, 1914.'

I record these notes on the Doctor in the hope of obtaining some local knowledge. The Doctor must have been about Christchurch in the fifties: he left the run in 1852 or 1854. He was a friend of Rolleston who came out in 1858.

The only local anecdote about Doctor Hodgkinson which has come to hand concerns his medicine case. Apparently the Doctor, like many other medical men, arrived in the country with a good case and a good supply of drugs such as they were in those days. When he left for England the case caused much consternation on the run. My informant tells me that the men 'buried the case because they were frightened of poisoning themselves.' This conclusion would cause amusement to such a one as Samuel Butler but we cannot imagine the learned Doctor looking at the

psychological difficulty in that way. In *New Zealand Now* we find another New Zealand sidelight on Butler. The writer says, 'I was told this story by the late John Hardcastle, of Timaru, whose father had a farm near the Rangitata. He was sent as a boy to get a horse shod, and when he reached the smithy saw a stranger leading a horse away and the blacksmith said: "See 'im? 'E don't believe in Gawd!" The stranger's name was Samuel Butler.'

The writer believes that Mr A. H. Johnstone has a series of letters written by Doctor Hodgkinson while in Canterbury and that they are to be published. The Doctor was an able man and the letters should furnish accurate information.

Augustus?

DOCTOR ANGUS FLORANCE

Letter from Mrs A. S. Moffatt October 6th, 1945,

My paternal grandfather, Dr. Florance, practised for some years at the Hutt during the Maori Wars. The natives never harmed him or his wife and he was known as the 'fire-water man.' From their house they could look down on the pa and watch the Maoris making ammunition. The Maoris would take my grandmother back-loads of wood and she gave them possets of treacle and oatmeal which they of course greatly appreciated. She was a brave woman even for those times of brave women. There is a photograph of the Doctor in the St. Alban's Library.

The Doctor arrived in Christchurch in the year 1862, the year of the opening of the Lyttelton-Heathcote tunnel. The Doctor and his wife and their son Robert Stone took a house in the district afterwards known as St. Albans, named I think by the Doctor. He died suddenly about the year ~~1876.~~ His father James Florance, was a K.C. in Chichester and later became a judge. There was a family of thirteen, the youngest being Augustus, and several of the sons took up medicine. The family moved to Ringwood, Hants and at the age of fifteen Augustus was apprenticed to his elder brother, Dr. William Florance of Corfe Castle, in the year 1829. On March 3rd, 1831 he went from his apprenticeship with good credentials and was nominated by Joseph Hume, of 50 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square to the London University. He attended lectures at Sydenham College under John Barnes (medical jurisprudence), R. D. Hoblyn (botany), Erasmus Wilson (practical and surgical anatomy), and lectures on general anatomy and physiology. He was examined and passed by William Dickenson, Thomas Ansell, W. P. Brondribb, Richard W. Robertson, Robert Norton, Robert Druitt, Robert Semple and W. G. Thisetlton Dyer.

The Doctor then practised at Portland Island and East Lulworth and in the fifties married Jane Angell Stone of Portland who died in 1856 after the birth of a son (Robert Stone). There was another son (Augustus) and three daughters by the marriage. After his wife's death the Doctor left his children with friends and relatives and went out to New Zealand at the end of 1856. The children stayed with the Welds of Lulworth Castle and the Doctor's sister, Mrs Eliza Fox, wife of the Rev. William Fox. Mr Fox was a literary man and was for a time M.P. for Oldham when he was associated with John Bright in the passing of the Corn Laws.

After a few years at the Hutt the Doctor married again and they went Home in the *Christopher Newton* coming back again in the *Mersey* in 1862 bringing Robert Stone with them. The other son and the youngest daughter Jane came out later.

The drive leading to the Doctor's house became part of Ranfurly Street. The old house was dismantled about 1910. The Doctor was a familiar figure about the streets driving a phaeton and wearing a silk dust coat and top hat. He had a stock of medicinal herbs and such things in his garden from which he often prepared simple and efficacious remedies for his patients. Like other old doctors he often sat up all night to insure the safe delivery of babies and of course often without remuneration. His humanitarian and philanthropic outlook towards practise which was to him sacred left him a poor man with an honoured name. He lies in the old Barbadoes Street Cemetry beside his wife who lived to the ripe old age of 92. They were worshippers at Old St. Luke's.

He died a few years before I was born and so cannot give personal reminiscences but I know that on one occasion he was called out of church to attend to a lady who had fainted. He adhorred tight lacing which was fashionable at the time and taking out his pocket knife he slit her bodice open, much to the indignation of a relative, but it did the trick, the lady soon regaining consciousness. On another occasion he was simultaneously sent for to go to two patients, one a well-to-do person at Cashmere and the other to a confinement of a poor patient. He chose the latter thereby ending a friendship of many years standing. This was of course in the days of messages before telephones. He once prescribed inhalations of gum leaves to a patient who thought he wasn't getting his money's worth. Facetiously, the patient remarked between sneezes, ' They call it u-clip-it-us in the voc-a-bi-leer-eye don't they Doctor.'

Unfortunately neither of the sons went into medicine but Robert always had a leaning towards ' healing ' and when he was at the Chatham Islands his very well equipped medicine chest was in constant use among the natives. He was Magistrate there and he persuaded the Education Department to supply a medicine chest to the school. Later, he collected a good sum locally towards the establishment of a cottage hospital.

Yours, etc., ETHEL J. MOFFATT.

DOCTOR J. S. TURNBULL

James Sommerville Turnbull was one of the most distinguished of the early doctors. He died on November 10th, 1890 and the December meeting of the British Medical Association deplored his loss. The retiring president, Dr. Thomas, stated the bare facts when he said, ' Possessed of unusual professional ability, it will be long ere his geniality or his racy anecdotes forgotten.' The Doctor began in 1858 and saw the rise of the profession, and above all others it was Dr. Turnbull who placed the almost modern stamp on medical practice. But medicine was not his only interest. In almost all the early ' agitations ' we note his name. Sir John Hall, Mr Rolleston, Dr. Turnbull and Dr. Frankish were the prime movers in favour of a Canterbury-Westland railway in 1878. He farmed in several places in Canterbury, and took an interest in journalism. His local body work included the Provincial Council and the Selwyn County Council and the Canterbury College Board of Governors.

The Doctor was born at Jedburgh and served an apprenticeship, going on to Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh University and Guys Hospital. He qualified M.D. Edinburgh in 1850 and soon after began going out East as a ship's surgeon. He had relatives in India which country he left just before the Mutiny. He came to New Zealand in 1858 in the *Indiana* and began a partnership with Dr. Hilson which included a chemist's business sold to Cook and Ross in 1862.

DOCTOR JAMES IRVING

James Irving died in Christchurch on October 2nd, 1900. He noticed himself chilled while attending a patient a week before but was able to get about. ' In the evening, finding an hour of leisure, he sat down in his arm chair to read the papers. Those about him saw him faint and medical aid was summoned, but he never rallied, and about half-past nine he passed away.'

James Irving was a Cumberland man, born in Gosforth in 1836. He passed the M.D. Edinburgh in 1857 and after hospital experience practised at Newark, Notts till 1879, and came on to New Zealand in the *Crusader* in that year. He soon became a well known practitioner in Christchurch and threw himself into many good works and hobbies. Among other activities James Irving was President of the New Zealand Medical Association, President of the Beautifying Association and the Chrysanthemum Society, and Surgeon-Major Canterbury Mounted Rifles. The Doctor took a wide interest in medical matters, and in the year of his death contributed an article to the *New Zealand Medical Journal on vaccination*, at that time a burning political question. He also gave lectures and advice to bee-keepers, he recommended the new hive and demonstrated the extraction of honey.

At his death the Doctor left a widow, six sons and five daughters. One of the sons, William, was in practice in Christchurch.

Dr. Irving was ship's surgeon in the *Crusader*. In *The Clipper Ship Crusader* the Doctor's diary is recorded in full. He records the difficulties of packing up and transporting his family of eight children, a nurse, and nine tons of heavy luggage, and then goes on to give a realistic account of the voyage. Arriving in Christchurch he says: ' Appearances are studied here, but convenience and utility not sacrificed. In England appearance is seldom thought of; at least in and around Newark, though there are some exceptions. One part of the town is within what is called the " fire block;" there are houses of brick or stone, and closer together; wooden erections are now prohibited. All the streets are wide. . . . . The men wanted here are small working farmers, with five or six hundred pounds. They do their own labour, have none to pay for, and consequently reap all the benefits of the products of rich land.'

DOCTOR THOMAS RICHARD MOORE

Dr. Moore, looking ' good old English,' was a character among the early doctors. For a time he lived at his farm, Spreydon, and the suburb received its name in that way, but he was interested in many places. On September 27th, 1850, while the Doctor was still in England, fifty acres fell to his lot and this was chosen at Charteris Bay. He sold out on June 21st, 1858 for £1,030 to Bradley and Preston, the property then containing 100 acres freehold and 420 acres pasturage.

' It was Dr. Moore to whom fate allotted Charteris Bay when the sections were drawn for in England. . . . . There was another owner of property in the Bay, a Mr Rowe. He had a section in the early days, but went away, and was heard of no more. Over thirty years ago, however, news came he had been living in Victoria, where he prospered, and Mr Helmore, a Christchurch lawyer, took possession of the property as his attorney. Dr Moore did not make a permanent home in Charteris Bay, and sold his property to the Rev. R. R. Bradley in 1858. . . . . Dr. Moore, after the sale, returned to England, where he had many connec-

tions, his father having been the Mayor of Salisbury. . . . . The old buildings erected by Dr. Moore are still standing. In fact he built the house in which the Bradleys used to reside, though of course it has been repaired and altered. He had also a stone dairy and stalls, but these are fast falling into decay.

In 1881 the Rev. R. R. Bradley gave Mr H. C. Jacobson some particulars of the life of Dr. Moore, one of the first Canterbury breeders of good dairy stock. It was thought that Dr. Moore should be listed among those who helped build up the reputation for dairy produce which the Peninsula has enjoyed ever since. Dr. Moore was not a successful farmer, and had to sell out to the Rev. R. R. Bradley, father of Mr Orton Bradley of Charteris Bay and return to take up medical practice in Christchurch. Dr. Moore arrived in Lyttelton by the *Sir George Pollock* in the year 1851 and bought the Charteris Bay Property. On his arrival in this country, and with the intention of turning farmer, he brought with him four celebrated cows, that have since left the stamp on many of the herds of cattle on the Peninsula. The late Mr R. Rhodes, in particular, owed not a little to the bull Brother Phil for the improvement of his stock at Ahuriri and Kaituna. The names of the imported cows were Flash, Duchess, Creamy and Old Dunny (an Alderney). Mr Rhodes purchased Flash at the Doctor's sale and also Brother Phil; and remnants of their stock could for years afterwards almost be traced in the late Mr T. H. Parkinson's herd. When a person had a beast to sell, and could only say that it had been bred from Dr. Moore's stock, it was thought quite good enough to establish its quality. One person really did obtain possession of a female calf, the Doctor being obliged to part with it instead of wages; but on the whole, like most wise breeders, he was very careful about parting with his female stock. The Doctor's cattle eventually became a mixed lot, but such was the celebrity of the above named imported cattle, that any cow that came from Charteris Bay must be good. Dr. Moore, previous to leaving England, had practised successfully in Salisbury, of which city he had been Mayor. (44).

Reference to the Potts Diary shows that Dr. Moore's sale took place in July, 1857, the same month in which Mr Dicken disappeared. Potts calls it a sale of shorthorns.

Speaking of the Sand Hills run, Mr Acland says (21), 'This station took in the country on the coast between the Styx River and the Estuary. William Derisley Wood took up Run 9 on 31st January, 1852 and he and his partner and brother-in-law, William Chisnall, took up Run 72 on 14th January, 1853. In September 1853, Wood and Chisnall sold the station to Dr. Moore and Peter Kerr, though the leases were not transferred officially until 4th June, 1854. Wood and Chisnall then took up Snowdon station. After they sold Snowdon, Wood founded the flour milling business which still belongs to his sons, and in later life he bought Swyncombe Station near Kaikoura. He was born in England in 1826 and died in Christchurch in 1906. Chisnall was the first owner of Russley, afterwards Dr. Prins' stud farm, and also rented an island in the Waimakariri which he worked with it. He was drowned while crossing from one to the other. His descendants are now land owners in the Hinds district. Wood and Chisnall worked the Sand Hills run as a dairy station, and supplied Christchurch with milk. Their manager was Peter Kerr who bought the station from them in partnership with Dr. Moore. In February, 1858 Moore and Kerr took up Run 239 which was all sand hills and probably not thought worth bothering with before. . . . . His (the Doctor's) father was Mayor of Salisbury. He died in Christchurch about 1870.'

SYMES

MODERN HISTORY

Esmé Wingfield-Stratford (*The Foundation of British Patriotism*) tells us that, 'British civilisation stands for what may be a forlorn, but is certainly the last, hope of averting the submergence of all civilisation whatever, and not inconceivably the failure of humanity itself to make good its upward progress.' The writer is one of those who believe that New Zealand's welfare depends upon loyalty to Britain. Our history, from this aspect, has been ably described by Hetherington (37) and Morrell (38).

The other necessary factor in our welfare is the land; New Zealand must be conducted as one big farm. The history of farming in New Zealand is the true history of the country.

By 1880 the pioneering days in Canterbury were over, but there were many new methods, almost revolutionary changes, coming forward in the practice of medicine. The 'horse and buggy' doctor saw the beginning of antisepsis, asepsis, and most of the modern operations. He also witnessed the great change over from old-fashioned to modern hospitals.

The writer is collecting notes on the lives of the the doctors but these are incomplete except for a few individuals. The writer records some notes and recollections in the hope that descendants of doctors will send information.

New Zealand medical men played a noble part in the Boer War, the first Great War (1914-18), and the second Great War. To the writer's knowledge there is no adequate description of the Boer War, but Carbery's *New Zealand Medical Services in the Great War* is a fine study. Perhaps the best record of the work of the battalion and regimental medical officers is contained within the various histories of the regiments.

DOCTOR WILLIAM H. SYMES

Doctor Symes died in Brisbane aged 84 years. His life was recorded by Professor Macmillan Brown in *The Press* (April 28, 1928) under the title *A Student Physician*.

'Most men abandon studies soon after leaving school or university; if they continue to read, it is in a desultory way and chiefly to pass the time. Hence it is that a large majority of the books for sale in the shops and for loan in the libraries are novels, and books that are on the level of fiction for any demand they make on the active thinking faculties. It is the rarest thing in the world to meet a man who thinks beyond his immediate environment and needs. Even amongst professional men, who ought to have points of contact with the world of science or thought outside their immediate sphere, it is by no means common to find a man who tries to fathom the bearings of his profession on the general problems of life. This is especially true in the Colonies and in the world outside of the reach of the great currents of thought that flow out of the urban centres of the Western World. When I first met the late Dr. Symes, I realised that I had come across this rare bird. It was fifty years ago, not long after I had arrived in the Colony, when I had still strongly in me the habits and the enthusiasms of the student that a prolonged period at Glasgow and Oxford had developed and made a second nature in me. It was only a casual meeting; yet I felt that I had in him a kindred spirit, for most of those I had met or was accustomed to meet were more deeply interested in land and wheat, in sheep and horses, or in politics than in the destiny of mankind or the drift of modern thought. Here was a man who on first acquain-

John Macmillan Brown's recollection

tance was more eager to discuss the nature of man and his mind, his weaknesses and diseases, than the price of mutton and wheat or the abolition of the provinces.

Unfortunately we were both entering on the career we had to make and for nearly a quarter of a century had little time to spare for such discussions; he had come in from a country practice to share a busy city practice, and I felt the responsibility of making an infant university institution take root in this pioneer outpost of the Empire. I had not a spare moment from the work into which I had put my whole heart; nor, I am sure, had he from the career he was making for himself. The result was that we saw little of each other till sleeplessness had driven me from my college work and I had returned from travels in Europe to a life of greater leisure amongst my books. By that time he was able to unbend from the strenuousness of a general practice with official work as medical officer of health for the Government and various public institutions and to give way to his natural tastes as a reader and thinker. He began to come to lunch with me on occasional Sundays and bring books or papers and get the loan of books and papers. And the whole afternoon was filled with the discussion of some problem that was suggested by our reading or by his practice. He was evidently in his own element whenever we drifted away from the particular to the general. All my visitors felt that he was a born philosopher with a strong, almost violent, scientific bent. No fact was mentioned without an attempt on his part to find its connection with some general law or conclusion. So much was this type of social intercourse to his taste that his Sunday visits became weekly when I was not away on my travels; he evidently counted it as his chief recreation; he was able to give full play to all his powers as an investigator and student.

I often regretted that there was no Boswell to take notes of our speculations and discussions, so great a variety of philosophical and scientific questions did they wander over. Not that any Boswell would have found him a Samuel Johnson either in browbeating dogmatism or in epigram. He was ever a gentle philosopher, kindly to all antagonists, and tolerant of all opinions and arguments that ran counter to his. He erred, in fact, on the other side; he would yield to his critic's pressure and concede his point even when it was evident to all that he had the soundest of positions himself. The consequence was that there was never any explosive element in the atmosphere of these symposia. However, the disputants might disagree, there was never any sign of irritation or temper. Every encounter ended in "sweetness" and "light." Unlike Mr Colborne-Veel, who was his predecessor as regular Sunday visitor, he was little interested in literature and its history; for a quarter of a century Mr Veel came almost every Sunday to my rooms in College or to my house at Fendalton and our conversation was always of the great writers of the past or of the rising writers of the day, nor did he ever fail to bring back some well-known book he had borrowed or leave without another; it was seldom or never that we touched on science or philosophy in our talks, though he showed the broadest sympathies and keenest insight when we struck on some principle that was mastering the mind of the day. He retained his old Oxford love of the classics, both ancient and modern, till he passed. For some years I had been reading more widely in scientific literature and interesting myself in scientific problems; but our literary intercourse and sympathies lasted all through. I resigned my chair in Canterbury College the year he died; it is one of my greatest consolations that he had no lingering illness; he died suddenly as he was speaking at a meeting of the Board of Governors of

the College. It is as great that he never realised that my tastes were drifting towards the scientific.

It was at this point that Dr. Symes took his place and came closely into my life; and our Sunday symposia seldom failed to end in the discussion of some principle or problem of science, however literary it may have been to begin with. When the majority of visitors were literary in their tastes he was not deeply interested in the conversations till by adroit questions he had drawn it towards one or other of his favourite social or medical problems. And it was rarely that he did not succeed in seizing some cue offered by the topics in hand. Only absorbing political questions forced on the company by some exceptional occurrence of the day prevented him giving this trend to the discussion. One of these comes into my mind; news had just come of the outbreak of war in the East between Russia and Japan. I predicted final victory for the little Asiatic Power, though everything seemed to be in favour of the European octopus; my contention seemed to be against all common sense; for Rusisa had been impressing the imagination of Europe by her Oriental ambitions, and Japan had been buried in obscurity till she had defeated China, and no one could realise the power and energy that the hitherto exclusive island nation would develop, especially as her efforts to imitate the West had laid her open to ridicule. I contended that the European colossus would have to fight six thousand miles from her base with only a single line of railway between, whilst the little Oriental combatant would have her arena close to her base and have complete command of the sea between, and as an insular nation she would be inspired by intense patriotism. Dr. Symes took sides with the "big battalions," and his words had great weight, as he was the only one present who had any personal knowledge of Japan, having been there with the Galatea, when the results of the revolution were still in embryo and the attempts to adopt Western arts and customs seemed still superficial. He had seen the strength of the old feudal regime and customs and the struggle that still lay before the reformers; the uncertainty of the issue made him turn down an offer of a medical post as it made me a few years later waive aside the chance of a chair in the new Imperial University of Tokyo. He knew the incohate character of her army and the elementary state of hygiene and medical science. And it stood to reason that he should reinforce the arguments of those who predicted the success of the European Power that had been overawing the world by its ruthless ambitions in the East. It staggered my opponents, including him, when the news came soon after of the bottling up of the Russian fleet in Port Arthur, and the consequent supremacy of the Japanese fleet in these Eastern waters.

When I returned from my prolonged visit to Japan in 1909 my new personal knowledge of its life and customs gained by journeying to its most obscure corners enabled me to see how correct had been his observations of its hygiene; we had many long talks and compared notes. I acknowledged that though the campaign in Manchuria had surprised the world by its minute attention to the health of the soldiers, reversing the usual order of military expeditions by securing that only one should die of disease for every four that died of wounds, he had been correct in his estimate of Japanese hygiene; it was appalling the wastefulness of life that would have disappeared if the most common hygienic precautions had been taken.

But there was one exception he made to his condemnation of Japan's lack of health regulation; it was the care it took to keep its people free

from venereal disease. He highly approved of the Yoshiwara, a village or city suburb to which prostitution was strictly confined under medical supervision; for here the sources of sexual disease were carefully watched and purified so that they should not spread infection through the generations. He held that Christendom stultified itself by its evasion of this the most important of hygienic duties; it professed and preached universal benevolence and yet took no care to prevent this scourge of mankind injuring the innocent and punishing posterity; he acknowledged that a Yoshiwara gave immunity and therefore freedom of reign to licentiousness, but held that that evil was more than out-weighed by the protection it gave to the innocent and pure. He often enlarged on the immeasurable evil that syphilis inflicted on mankind. He was for many years the medical adviser of Government institutions that drew in from all quarters of New Zealand the permanent physical and moral defectives; and he was convinced that a large proportion of the defects were due to sexual abuses and diseases, either direct or through ancestry. He had studied all the literature on the subject and knew by heart the history of that famous, or rather infamous, fountain of disease and prostitution and criminality in the United States, the Jukes family; had it been suppressed in its origin, it would have saved the American Government millions of dollars every year, and this was only one case out of hundreds in every nation. And he laid half this waste of good humanity and human endeavour and resources at the door of sexual diseases and disorders and especially syphilis.

He had come to the conclusion with many medical investigators that this fell disease came out of the New World. Signs of its existence appeared first at the siege of Barcelona, nine years after Columbus discovered America; and there is a belief amongst the people of the Andes that the syphilitic spirochaete exists in the saliva of the Llama. Whether this be so or not, he had traced the results of this plague in the institutions that he had to supervise medically, and he had no hesitation in saying that it was the greatest curse that had ever inflicted mankind, for it passed through generation after generation, and ultimately killed off the family. He was so impressed with the tremendous handicap that these sexual diseases and abuses put on the energies and prosperity of mankind that he had no hesitation in advocating sterilisation of sexual criminals in order to prevent their spread to posterity. He knew all the legislation that the various states of the world had passed for their mitigation, and was ever ready to show not only its merits but its defects. One of the activities that marked his last year was to address the Brisbane justices of the peace on the subject, at the request of the Chief Justice, who has since died.

Dr. Symes was in fact an ardent eugenist and never ceased studying the various means suggested for improving the human race; and some years before he left Christchurch he founded a society for the study and promotion of eugenism, of which a former Resident Magistrate, Mr Bishop, was president. He had all the Galton's and Karl Pearson's literature on the subject, and he took regularly the eugenic periodical issued by Dr Davenport in the United States. He recognised the difficulties in the way of eugenic legislation, much of which in the States defeated its own ends. But he never lost faith in its ultimate triumph. One side of it he thought quite practical—the prohibitive side. He thought that the world was ripe for preventing the criminal, the insane, and the mentally defective from handing on their sorrow to posterity. Not a few would add the thriftless to this list; and he was one of those. And when this prohibitive purification of humanity had been achieved, then might arise the instinct that it

Symes

was a crime to hand on a defect to posterity, to become ultimately the universal conscience of mankind.

Though this was the outstanding feature of his creed, he had many other humane interests. One of his last letters is devoted to the crusade against the extermination of the native fauna; the Koala or little Australian bear was almost extinct and he sympathised with the numerous letters in the Brisbane papers that urged methods for its protection. There were many other benevolent crusades that he joined in, such as the purification of politics and the abolition of the practice of gerry-mandering that had gone on for some years in Queensland. Even though he thought the new Labour Premier was a man of strong character he was distinctly pessimistic on the future of the country. In one letter from him in July last I note the phrase, " Bolshevism rules Queensland and will sweep away religion, art, and social institutions." He ends another letter with, " We are ripening for Fascism." In another he quotes the resolution of a school committee, " No dogs or God shall be admitted to this school."

With all his pessimism he was greatly interested in a new method of discovering oil or minerals without boring; it was the Elbof electromagnetic method of geophysical survey. He wrote me again and again about it and sent on to me the prospectus of a new company, The Coal, Oil N.Z. Ltd., merging the Calliope Coal Mines at Wesport and the Waipatiki Petroleum Field, on the east coast of the North Island. This new oil field had been discovered by Dr. John Wanner, Professor of Applied Geology at Bonn University. Dr. Rudolph Krahmann, Professor of Applied Geology at Berlin University and Geophysicist of the Council of Scientists who direct the field operations of the Elbof Co., was starting from Hamburg in the autumn of 1927 for Australia and New Zealand to test various oil properties; and he was to lecture in the cities of Australia and New Zealand on the method. Dr. Symes had taken a financial interest in the company and proposed to cross with the scientific party in September. Mention of this venture gradually died out of his letters whilst he confessed that writing was difficult for him. I answered his last letter early in the year, and the long lapse of time without any reply made me fear the worst and the worst came last week when *The Press* rang me up to tell me of his death. I hope that he passed away painlessly, as he deserved, for the long life spent in trying to assuage the pain of others.

It was one of the contradictions in this singularly gifted and gentle nature that he combined the capacity for the strictest scientific reasoning with the simplicity of a child. Again and again, in our many symposia, had I occasion to note how strong his reasoning powers were and yet how easily his sanguine childlikeness could be deceived. He was sanguine to a degree about any project he undertook, and yet when its chances of failure were pointed out he realised them in a moment. Closely related to this was a weakness that maimed so many of his investigations and undertakings, if it did not maim his whole life; he was most methodical in accumulation of pertinent facts, but when it came to the point of drawing conclusions or taking action he was delighted to find any excuse for putting it off; he had innumerable carefully tied and labelled little packets of the facts or quotations he had gathered, but he never sat down to write out the paper that all his labour should have resulted in. At rare intervals an exception occurred, as when he collected statistics of those who suffered from anaemia in New Zealand; he found that they were commonest on the east coast and overwhelmingly so in Canterbury and Hawkes Bay, where the north-east supplanting the north-west prevailed; he clearly pointed out

The nature of the Canterbury nor-westers has received much study and many popular expositions of its rain-bearing properties have appeared in the newspapers. But it is extraordinary that our prevailing easterlies have not received much publicity. Perhaps we just take them 'for granted.' In *The Press* (April 2nd and March 26th, 1941) J. R. Wilkinson had two letters explaining his views: 'A glance at the map shows that a slight change in direction from north east to easterly makes a good deal of change in the nature of the wind. The north-east comes over a good deal of land and is cold, dryish and miserable, but the easterly comes over the ocean, and is mild and highly charged with moisture. Just as the nor-west precipitates its moisture against the alps on the West Coast, so our easterlies make torrential downpours on the foothills. They occur rarely, say once in five years, but the destruction, damage and trouble they create is great . . . . . Probably many that have interests in the southern tropics will have a vague feeling that there is a connection between some of the hurricanes of those parts and our flood storms of 1923, 1931, 1936 and 1941. This view is not opposed in a masterly study of the recent storm by the Meteorological Department. It is shown that the storm originated as a cyclone near the New Hebrides group, travelled westward, then recurved eastward to Norfolk Island, and then enveloped our Dominion in a north-easterly direction. It was mild and highly charged with ocean moisture, precipitated on the cool and elevated lands of our islands. If further study should show some regularity in this connection, it might be hoped that the tropical radio stations might give us very timely warning. We can scarcely conceal our astonishment at the great powers and stability of the cyclones which apparently can travel a great distance and then work havoc with flood and tempest.'

The well known relation between geology and 'guesses' would seem to be outdone by the relation between weather and forecasting. In the present state of our knowledge it would seem impossible for there to be any connection between anaemia and the prevailing easterlies. But the writer knows of many residents of Christchurch who have been impressed with the late Dr. Syme's theory.

DOCTOR J. J. BROWNLEE (1852-1928)

The writer has been fortunate in being able to gather accurate information about the active, industrious and interesting life of Joseph John Brownlee, a man revered by his colleagues and patients and one of the outstanding medical men of Canterbury. 'Send for Brownlee' was a common advice in Christchurch and many country districts during his forty odd years of active practice. He was working almost to the day of his death which was rather sudden and unexpected. Fortunately, his widow survives and is in good health. She is a member of a well known teaching family.

Doctor Brownlee's life serves to illustrate the gradual but ultimately radical changes during the three epochs of medical practice in Canterbury. He came to New Zealand before the end of the pioneering epoch; he practised the whole of the horse and buggy days and for over twenty years of the modern epoch—a very interesting life by any standards. Moreover, Brownlee, though conservative in many ways, advanced himself medically in accordance with the times. Few, if any, devoted so much time to post-graduate work, and this was, in his case, not wasted by simple touring—he studied for degrees. This aspect of his life was covered by a somewhat don-

Brownlee

nish reluctance to admit the value of some of the so-called medical advances, and it was only natural that some of the younger doctors valued him only as old-fashioned and sound. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Brownlee was born at Derrylard, near Portadown, North Ireland, on August 9th, 1852 and died in Christchurch on October 13th, 1928. He retained some of the more stable Irish characteristics all his life. He left a family and two of them are medical men, one of them a surgeon in Christchurch at the present time. Mrs Brownlee was a daughter of the Rev. David McKee, the first minister of Knox Church who came to New Zealand from Rutland Square, Dublin. In the family it is recorded that the ship carrying the Doctor Home for one of his post-graduate periods passed, at sea, the ship bringing his future wife to New Zealand.

Brownlee's first university experience was to take an arts degree at the celebrated Queens University. Then followed a short period of school-teaching. His next move was to travel the world—something of an adventure in the sixties and seventies. Unfortunately there is no diary of these years, but he was in South America and South Africa, and finally came to New Zealand in 1874 or 1875.

During his first four years in Canterbury Brownlee taught classics in several schools presumably on a locum basis, and many have recorded their having been taught latin by Doctor Brownlee. At holiday time the Doctor was all over the country mostly on horse-back; he was always proud of his horses which he broke in himself; consequently he was the last doctor in Christchurch to change to motor cars. A long riding trip to the Haast pass is recorded in the seventies. The writer's family knew the Doctor well in his early days. There is no record of his bringing capital to New Zealand but there must have been some since by 1879 he was able to go Home for a long period to study medicine. Work in the holidays as well as teaching latin no doubt added to his capital. He took the M.D. in 1883, and then the Ch.M. and finally the Master of Obstetrics in 1888, and was perhaps the most highly qualified medical man in Canterbury during the nineties. He had a prize record in many subjects and a record mark in anatomy.

Returning to New Zealand Brownlee was for a time medical assessor for the Government Life Insurance, but the new subjects of bacteriology and public health were raising their heads and the doctor could not be stationary till he had some knowledge of them. Thus it was that he went off to University College, London and took the D.P.H. and the Diploma of State Medicine (1898). He is believed to be the first doctor in New Zealand to hold the latter diploma. Off Teneriffe Brownlee completed a modern post-mortem examination—a new thing at sea and perhaps the first. He was in active practice in Christchurch from 1900 till his death.

The writer and many other young doctors of the twenties have reason to be grateful for Doctor Brownlee's wisdom and knowledge. In fact, he did 'wipe our eyes' on occasions, albeit during the course of most ethical consultations. Though severe in criticism Brownlee upheld a strict ethical code, a way of thinking then beginning to decline. But even so late as the twenties consultations were still grave disquisitions. To the raw youth, Brownlee's treatments would often seem old-fashioned, but it was the ultimate results that counted. The writer has listened to the Doctor giving advice concerning the application of a mustard plaster, the taking of a hot bath by an elderly patient, the prescribing of a heart mixture, the use of aperients and many other supposedly simple treatments, but there was wisdom in all cases. A well known surgeon once considered that

Brownlee did not apply surgery soon enough to some disorders, but when Brownlee tentatively altered his views that particular surgeon soon prayed for a return to the older and saner method. Few know that Doctor Brownlee had a large and successful obsteric practice for many years but other exigencies forced him to give it up. He was a real specialist in that branch.

DOCTOR JOHN GUTHRIE

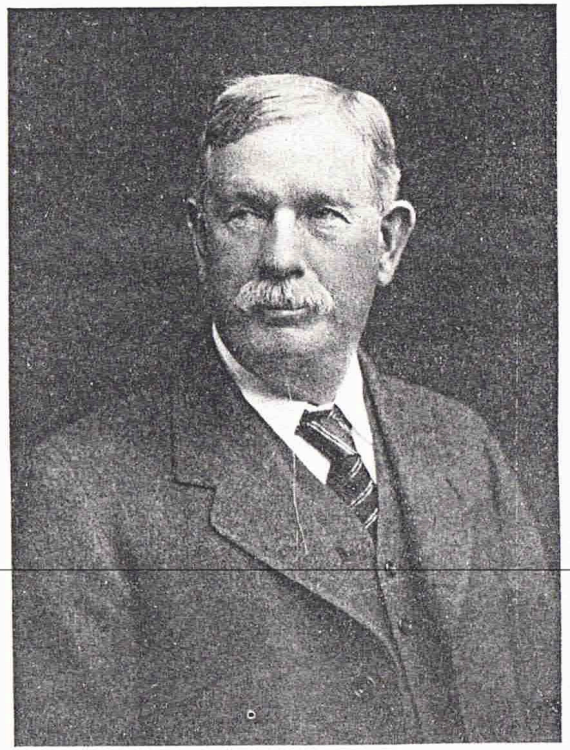
The name Guthrie is well known in the medical circles of Canterbury. Two generations have carried on the good work. The Guthries have stood for all that is best and pleasant in medical practice.

The Guthries and Hays were connected by marriage. The last Mrs T. O. Hay, authoress of that epic, *Annandale, Past and Present,* was born a Guthrie, and Brenda Guthrie's *New Zealand Memories* is a delightful story based on the family records. Another book, *The Clipper Ship Crusader,* also records much of the family wanderings.

Both John and Tom Guthrie were known for their genial and kindly disposition, Tom particularly for his wit and John for his genius in sketching. Most of John's friends were at some time or another the subjects of his caricatures which were in the style of Phil May, but Phil May's technique was to bring out the features by erasure while the Doctor lined his subject in a few minutes without any subsequent alteration. Although both John and Tom had long retired from practice and from the Volunteers they immediately took up work on the Examining Board during the Great War, 1914-18, and Tom died while a member of the Military Medical Board..

John Guthrie was the eldest son of the Rev. John Guthrie, D.D., and was born at Kendal in 1848. He died in Christchurch in 1922. After qualifying at Glasgow University he held the posts of Resident House Surgeon and House Physician at the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, famous as the birthplace of Listerism. He then took charge of an emigrant ship to South America, and, on returning to Scotland, graduated M.D. The thesis was on yellow fever which he had been able to study in South America. In September, 1874, he sailed in the clipper ship *Crusader* as Medical Officer in charge of the immigrants, passengers and crew. The ship sprang a serious leak in the Bay of Biscay which varied in severity during the subsequent course of the voyage. At times all hands were put to work. The captain, Captain Renaut, wished to run for a South American port but Doctor Guthrie strongly advised against this because of the yellow fever raging there. The *Crusader* arrived at Lyttelton on December 31st, 1874. In *The Clipper Ship Crusader* we read of the extraordinary nature of the hole in the ship's hull. Whatever its cause, subsequent examination by Captain Renaut showed that at some time a fish had blocked the hole. The skeleton of the fish was recovered.

Doctor Guthrie first practised in Christchurch, and in 1876 was Resident Surgeon at the Hospital. Then he practised in Akaroa for five years, coming back to Christchurch in 1882. For many years he was Honorary Surgeon to the Hospital and in very active private practice. He was one of the real 'horse and buggy' period; almost always there were four horses in the stable to carry on the extensive practice. Doctor Guthrie retired in 1896 and went back to Scotland. There he took up an assistant lectureship in surgery at the Glasgow Western Infirmary, at that time one of Scotland's foremost hospitals. He returned to New Zealand in 1908 but did not practise. Much of his time was spent at Lake Coleridge station. Shortly



DOCTOR J. J. BROWNLEE

Guthrie

after the outbreak of the Great War he took up duty, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, as a Medical Board examiner. Much of his time was spent in Dunedin.

12 Ap 1876

John Guthrie married Marion Taylor Hay, a member of the noted pre-Adamite family of Pigeon Bay. The family settled there in 1843, seven years before the *First Four Ships*. In *New Zealand Memories* it is related how Doctor Logan was one of those who advised the Hays to come to New Zealand, and the book is written almost in the form of 'advice' from Dr. Logan, a very pleasing form of narrative which is unique in New Zealand literature. The story of the Hays is also given in James Hay's *Earliest Canterbury*, perhaps the best book about the pre-Adamites. At the time of his death John Guthrie was survived by his widow, two sons (Doctor John and Doctor Neil), and one daughter (Mrs James Grant, of Grays Hills, Mackenzie Country). Doctor John has since died. Sir James Guthrie, sometime President of the Royal Scottish Academy, was a younger brother.

'Tom'

DOCTOR THOMAS ORR GUTHRIE.

1884 Lytt

Thomas Orr Guthrie was born in Greenock about 1851, and died in Wellington in 1919. He graduated at Glasgow University in 1877 and came to New Zealand in 1878 in charge of an emigrant ship. He started practise at Lincoln but moved to Lyttelton in 1884. He was the Port Health Officer and had an extensive practice for many years. T. O. Guthrie was a man of the highest character and of great charm and was held in universal esteem. Later in life he examined many thousands of recruits and his fellow Medical Officers spoke of his patience, forbearance and courtesy to colleagues and recruits. He retired from his Lyttelton practice in 1898, the practice being taken over by Doctor Upham, who still does his fair share of work in Lyttelton. After his retirement Doctor Guthrie travelled a great deal, but finally returned to New Zealand in 1910 to live in Feilding with his wife and daughter, Brenda, the authoress of *New Zealand Memories*. His son Errol was in practice at Feilding. Errol was killed at Armentieres in 1916.

Doctor Guthrie married Mary Hay in 1881. Students of New Zealand literature know of the delightful series of letters written by Thomas Orr Guthrie to his daughter Brenda; they are recorded in *New Zealand Memories*. The letters encompass many experiences of 'educated travel,' a type of literature very rare in this part of the Antipodes.

Dr. Neil Guthrie has been able to correct much of the information about the Guthrie family, but they are all too modest. The writer can but repeat his previous statement: 'The Guthries have stood for all that is best and pleasant in medical practice.' The work of the late John Guthrie and Dr Neil Guthrie has been outstanding, and the Christchurch Hospital and the general public have to thank them for painstaking work over many years. The death of John Guthrie (the second) left a gap difficult to bridge among his many patients and friends.

DOCTOR WALTER THOMAS.

Walter Thomas, one of the most respected medical men in Canterbury, died in Christchurch in 1918, having retired from practice in August, 1917. Recurrent influenza and a stroke forced him into retirement. The death of his son Geoff at Pozieres in the third Somme battle was a severe blow.

Doctor Thomas was born in Glasgow on June 12th, 1848, and went out to Melbourne at an early age with his parents. He was educated at the Church of England Grammar School, the University of Melbourne, and Glasgow University, where he was the medallist in materia medica. Returning to Australia he started practise at Clunes, Victoria, and later moved to Egerton. He came to Christchurch in August, 1882, and his wife and three daughters arrived a month later. Doctor John Guthrie had bought Dr. Campbell's practice and Guthrie and Thomas joined in a partnership which lasted nine years. Dr Thomas was in very busy practise till 1917 when he retired and lived in the Papanui Road.

The Doctor was very keen in the Volunteers, gaining the Long Service Medal and the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was Principal Medical Officer of the district till the Defence Act brought in compulsory military service. For twenty-four years he was the local editor of the *New Zealand Medical Journal*, besides being a keen member of the Association and serving as President. Another interest was St. John Ambulance in which the Doctor held an associate decoration. In his youth in Victoria the Doctor was a noted cricketer and footballer, and later in life bowls took their place. He was Honorary Secretary to the Christchurch Bowling Club for fourteen years, and held high office in the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association and the Pioneer Athletic Club. The Doctor was a keen Scot, being Vice-President of the Caledonian Society for over twenty years.

The Doctor left a widow, three sons, two daughters, and four granddaughters, the fourth being born a month before his death. The five children are all alive to-day. David has been practising dentistry in London since 1922. Malcolm, the youngest, has been a surveyor in the Public Works Department since before 1914, and is at present at Paeroa. The two daughters never married, one lives in Christchurch and the younger is in Glasgow. Geoff was killed in the Great War, 1914-1918. John Restell is a well known doctor in Christchurch.

In 1900 Dr Walter Thomas gave an address (the Presidential address) to the Medical Association entitled 'Colonial Practitioners and the Public' in which he compared colonial conditions with those existing in other countries. In its editorial comment the *New Zealand Medical Journal* notes that 'All gratitude has not yet parted from the colonial patient, though it cannot be gainsaid that there does not exist in anything like the same degree that feeling of allegiance and confidence which characterizes the relation of the doctor at Home and his patients. Some part of this may be due to ourselves.'

In 1901 Dr. Thomas described to the Medical Association a trip he had made up the Wanganui River, his 'New Zealand Rhine.' The description was reported in the *New Zealand Medical Journal* of April, 1901, and remains one of the best pieces of New Zealand literature.

The writer sought information about Walter Thomas from his son, John Restell, who wrote as follows: 'In his methods of practise my father was of the "Old School" but came early under the influence of Lord Lister, though I cannot say he was actually under Lister. He worked for a long time in the Glasgow Royal Infirmary where Lister did his early work, and his uncle, Dr. Moses Thomas, was Superintendent there at the time and for thirty-four years. He was there when I went to Glasgow in 1898. Father was a contemporary of Dr. John Guthrie (Senior), and I think they qualified about the same time.

Walter Thomas

Fox 7

'As a man, Walter Thomas was "a man of his word," temperate, a hard worker, always believing that "Example is better than Precept." He was a keen sport and had many interesting sides to his life. He was always ready to recognise genuine effort made by any of his family or others. As you say, he was good at cricket and football in his young days. He played what is known as the Melbourne Game, and his student associates dubbed him the "Pocket Hercules." I am sorry I have very little except old Melbourne University manuals which refer to his scholastic achievements, but they show that he was frequently in First and Second Class Honour Lists.

'I think he was inducted as a Mason when in Australia, and he was a member of the St. Augustine Lodge in Christchurch. But he was too busy in his work to take an active part or rise to any high office. He was a staunch Presbyterian and an elder of the church for some years, and at one time was chairman of the Board of Management of St. Paul's Church.'

Doctor Walter Thomas is referred to in so many of the reports of early Christchurch societies; he was a man of tremendous drive and energy.

A NOTE FROM DOCTOR WALTER FOX.

November 30th, 1944.

I was at the Christchurch Hospital for my first three years in New Zealand, and was closely associated with the staff in so far as the medicine and surgery but had little intimate association with them in private.

At the time, an interesting man, Dr. Hacon, was practising. He had just left the Mental Hospital. Dr. Hunt was a well known man about Woolston—an enormous man with a large practice in that part to which he was well suited. He had a son in the Land Office and another a dentist. Dr. Mickle was a well known man about town, but I knew nothing of his practice. The Guthries were my friends. Dr. W. Thomas was prominent. An uncle of his was in charge of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary when I was there. One of his nephews (a brother of Dr. W. Thomas) went backwards and forwards as ship's doctor on immigrant ships. When he came to Glasgow we would, on occasions, have him as locum tenens. Years after, when I came to the colony I met him at the house of Dr. W. Thomas. By that time he was very substantial and practising at Temuka.

When I started in practice it was the custom of some of the men starting to begin with bicycles, and I did some of my work in that way. Later, of course, we had horses and gigs or sulkies or some other vehicle. About 1900 I ordered a Darracq motor from England, but went sheep farming, and Dr. H. T. D. Acland took over the car when it was delivered in New Zealand. For a time I had a motor cycle—a beautiful piece of machinery but with a bucking tendency. All the works being in the back wheel it was very hard on clothes and its swaying tendency gave me many spills. Of course we drove all over the country with horses to see cases and operate in private houses. I remember driving to Ashburton and back during one night to operate on a case of appendicitis. The elder Mr Hayward drove me, and I remember we changed horses at Chertsey. I frequently drove down to Akaroa and French Farm.

Later, I was on the Surgical Staff of the Hospital. There, Dr. Nedwill was the outstanding character. He was a peppery Irishman who, for the times, read a lot, kept up-to-date, tried all new treatments, and was generally active. His knowledge and skill were not to be despised. Dr. Murdoch and Dr. Lomax Smith were also rather peppery and perhaps disposed to quarrelsome consultations.

Nedwill

In the town, the elder De Renzy had a lot of merit, being very diligent and faithful to his numerous patients, working day and night. Later, he was involved in the celebrated coccyx case.

When I began practise there were of course no large private hospitals as we know them to-day. Nevertheless, the service was not bad, and it was certainly more personal. Hospitals were private homes managed by women with a sense of responsibility and a natural aptitude for nursing and management. Mrs King began in Salisbury Street and had a good home. In those days the best hospitals were 'domestically clean' and most of the nurses had a fair knowledge of the antiseptic technique. The modern over-elaborated ritual of asepsis was unknown. A room was kept clean and relatively empty of furniture as an 'operating room' and in the best homes you could be sure that everything was thoroughly boiled. Later, Mrs King had a home in Oxford Terrace. She was involved, though not with discredit, in the coccyx case.

Mrs Pope had a home in Papanui Road. Dr. Ovenden 'boosted' this home. Sister Turner took over Mrs King's in Salisbury Street and later moved to 'The Limes.' This was a hospital excellent in every way—good nurses and nursing and a good 'atmosphere.' The difficulty was that we had to carry our patients to the theatre and I believe you do so to-day.

'Strathmore' in the Ferry Road, when it began, was in advance of the times—a pioneer institution in many ways. A charming woman, Sister Dunsford, happily still alive, was the Matron. We had such things as a glass lined theatre. Asepsis was superseding antisepsis. Sister Dunsford was a well qualified nurse, everything was kept up and the patients were served in the dainty manner in wards or single rooms. Perhaps it was all too dainty. There was a modern operating table. Dr. Townend and Mr Brown were the chief promoters. Eventually 'Strathmore' collapsed.

In my leisure time I played polo which I had taken up in Australia before coming to New Zealand. I stabled ponies on the site of the New Nurses Home, and played till I was in my sixties. Strange to say, I had several breakdowns in my life but for polo my health was ample. I was the only doctor who played but two dentists, Dr. Maitland and Dr. George turned out. We had much tennis on the Hospital courts especially just after the last war. My chief recreation has been hill walking. Years ago, Dr. Nedwill and I walked a lot on Cashmere Hills. The tram did not go up the hill and we started from his house walking perhaps to Cooper's Knob or Teddington and back in the day. Later Professor Blunt and I went on the Hills. Many times I was alone, starting on a light breakfast say tea and toast and with a thin sandwich and an apple in my pocket would walk 15 or 20 miles and, occasionally, 30 miles in the day. I never had such things as knapsacks or ruc sacks or any other extras such as one sees on the hills to-day. Much of the walking was on sheep tracks—the roads not having been made all over the Hills.

During my time as Medical Superintendent of the Hospital I was of course involved in many changes. Perhaps my idea of a Community Hospital was the most interesting. It was, of course, never gone on with and perhaps the most opposition came from what is called class feeling. Many doctors wished to keep the Hospital 'kitchen' doing the 'parlour' work in private, and some members of the Board held that a Community Hospital would create 'class feeling' in the Hospital itself. I still think the principle a good one and to a certain extent it has come about without any planning. Ideas with a long vision do not catch on readily with the powers

that be. In the *History of the North Canterbury Hospital* (P. C. Fenwick) you will find the outline of the scheme.

Over the years, medical practice has changed in many ways, not all of them in an improving manner. The 'ritual' of asepsis and the unnecessary laboratory investigations are the prominent features in modern hospitals.

DOCTOR WALTER FOX

Doctor Fox died early in 1945, after a painful illness but he was working, true to his principles, almost to the day of his death. His great work was hospital administration: he was the doyen of New Zealand's hospital superintendents. Walter Fox went through the 1914-1918 War as Superintendent of the Christchurch Hospital with a sadly depleted staff coming out with the hospital discipline and usefulness stronger than ever. The depression of the 'thirties' was another trial but here again there was no slackening of duty to the public.

Walter Fox began his surgical career with Sir William Macewen; he was the assistant during many of the early operations on the brain. Poor health interrupted a promising career in many ways, though interludes of farming and a strenuous personal discipline enabled him to overcome most of the disability. Work and exercise were the outward signs of an active mind but the Doctor's home life ranged over a wide field of art, literature and sporting ventures.

One of the Doctor's great outlets was his re-organisation of the nursing service; at the Hospital there were two epochs—'Before Fox' and 'After Fox.' The writer, who lays claim to some knowledge of the nursing service, has never known a more efficient service than that of the Christchurch Hospital. Scotch pertinacity and the help of very capable Lady Superintendents laid the foundations, and the efficiency goes on.

Doctor Fox's last activities were in connection with soldiers returned from the present war, and no medical man ever gave them better attention. His official position was that of Registrar but he was more than that functionary. He also acted as Registrar to the Cancer Clinic.

When in the mood, Doctor Fox would recall old sporting affairs with great relish. His description of ratting with Dr. Ben Moorhouse's terriers left little to the imagination, and his advice on the training and stabling of polo ponies followed the soundest of principles.

One or two ill-informed persons have stated that Doctor Fox had too much power, but this contention is ridiculous: those who have the responsibilty must have the power. Doctor Fox was one of those who held that a man's home life should be private, and the writer is permitted only to say that it was as one would expect.

Doctor Fox contributed many papers to the *New Zealand Medical Journal*; during 1901 there were papers on *Surgical Complications of Typhoid Fever, Cases of Congenial Intestinal Malformation,* and *Some Rarer Infantile Diseases,* and in 1902 a paper on *Modern Methods of Radical Treatment of Hernia.* Even at a distance of forty years these papers have the modern outlook showing a wide knowledge of contemporary literature.

Doctor Fox's first appointment was resident at the Glasgow Royal Infirmary for a year and a half, then R.M.O. at the Glasgow Maternity for six months, then R.M.O. at the Stoke Newington Dispensary for four years, then clinical assistant at the Westminster Ophthalmic Hospital and at the

Central London Throat and Ear Hospital, then physician and surgeon at the Narandera District Hospital in New South Wales for two and a half years and government medical officer for the district, and finally the Christchurch Hospital.

It was Dr. Fox, above all others, who encouraged the writer to continue his notes on the early doctors of Canterbury.

In *The Press* (April 28th, 1945) T.A.M. recorded his tribute to Walter Fox, thus placing his colleagues for ever in his debt. 'Christchurch has lost a man who spent his life for the sick and ailing of the province. Most of Dr. Fox's professional life was spent as superintendent of the Public Hospital. There were two periods spent in that work, separated by one of private practice and a short time on his farm in North Canterbury. Walter Fox, at Glasgow University, was selected by Sir William Macewen, Britain's greatest brain surgeon, to act as his house surgeon and private assistant and to accompany him to the United States, where Macewen was to be professor of surgery in one of the great medical schools of America. Sir William finally turned down the appointment and Fox set out for Australia. Coming to New Zealand, he held the position of medical superintendent at our local hospital from 1896 to 1899, when he entered into private practice. Dr. Fox had a very large practice and was adored by his patients. Nothing was too much trouble for him, and he was their friend as well as doctor. When he gave up practice to live on his farm, a public presentation was made to him, a rare event anywhere in New Zealand. The first world war brought him back into harness, and, but for a brief time, he was superintendent of the Public Hospital from 1915 till he retired a few years ago. It was during these latter years that I came to know him intimately. Anyone who was keen on his work for work's sake had his sympathy and active support. He was a great encourager of the young medical men. He hated the slacker and commercial practitioner and liked to see the seniors giving a helping hand to the beginners. In short, Dr. Fox was an example of all that is best in the Scottish medical man. The hospital was his life-work and pride. With the assistance of the lady superintendents, he made our hospital second to none as a training school for nurses, though at the last he used to lament that we were perhaps trying to turn out medical women instead of nurses. He, like most of us older members of the profession, believed that our nurses should be nurses and in their own sphere were just as valuable to the sick as the properly-trained medical man. He believed with Chiene of Edinburgh that the patient comes first always, the nurse second in the eyes of the doctor, or the doctor second in the opinion of the nurse. Generations of nurses and many former house surgeons will bless the name of 'Daddy' Fox, for they owe him much. He set a high standard of rectitude and, while he could be very scathing over the selfishness of some doctors, he was deeply sympathetic and generous to those who made real medicine their goal.'

NOTES FROM MR GEORGE PALMER, 19/11/44

You ask about early doctors. I knew J. W. S. Coward and his son Gerald well. Two of Coward's sons became well known legal men in London. I think the two gained titles. Noel Coward, the playwright, is, I believe, one of the same family. Dr. T. Izod Bennett's mother was a Coward.

I knew Mr Deamer who lived in Armagh Street where Knowles fish shop is now. His son was with me at College. The Doctor had a nice

place in Armagh Street. One of the Doctor's descendants is Lady Hosking who lives in Christchurch.

H. H. Prins had a fine property opposite the Club. I think he had the whole block up to Manchester Street and a hall was subsequently built on the Manchester Street side. I have an idea that for a time Prins had a partner named Ellis, but no doubt Miss Prins will know. Prin's racing stable was at 'Russley.'

J. S. Turnbull was our doctor for many years—a fine chap, tall, and very Scotch. I remember his coming to Burnham a lot when we lived there. My mother suffered from what was called neuralgia and as a boy I was often sent at all hours for the Doctor. He had a speaking tube to his front door. My mother went home in 1884 and consulted Sir William Jenner who advised a severe diet which we thought ridiculous.

J. D. Frankish and Ben Moorhouse were the only doctors I did much with in a sporting way. Frankish and I went to Lake Ellesmere a lot for duck shooting. The Doctor always advised taking a bottle of beer out to keep out the cold. This seemed odd but he didn't believe in spirits. He lived in Colombo Street down towards the railway. Ben Moorhouse was a fine shot and fisherman and I spent many times with him at his hut at the Selwyn. One thing I can always remember was that he could put away more oysters than anyone I ever knew. This was all right in New Zealand at a few pence a dozen but in England a different matter altogether. Ben went to sea for his asthma. I didn't know he had left New Zealand but one day I was standing in Piccadilly when suddenly I heard a voice 'There's George Palmer.' It was Ben and a friend. We had lunch at the Criterion and later we met Turnbull of Wellington (Turnbull and Jones) and had dinner at Verreys. Ben enjoyed himself but I forget if it was oysters.

Of course I had a lot to do with my brother Jim who is now sheep-farming. I remember him making many long trips into the country for consultations.

You ask me about medical fees. They don't seem to have gone up in the last sixty years either in England or in New Zealand. People spend a lot of money on far worse things than medical advice.

LETTER FROM DOCTOR A. J. ORCHARD, 10/11/44

Perhaps I have little of special interest. I began to practise in October, 1897 and in my recollection the following doctors were in active work at that time.

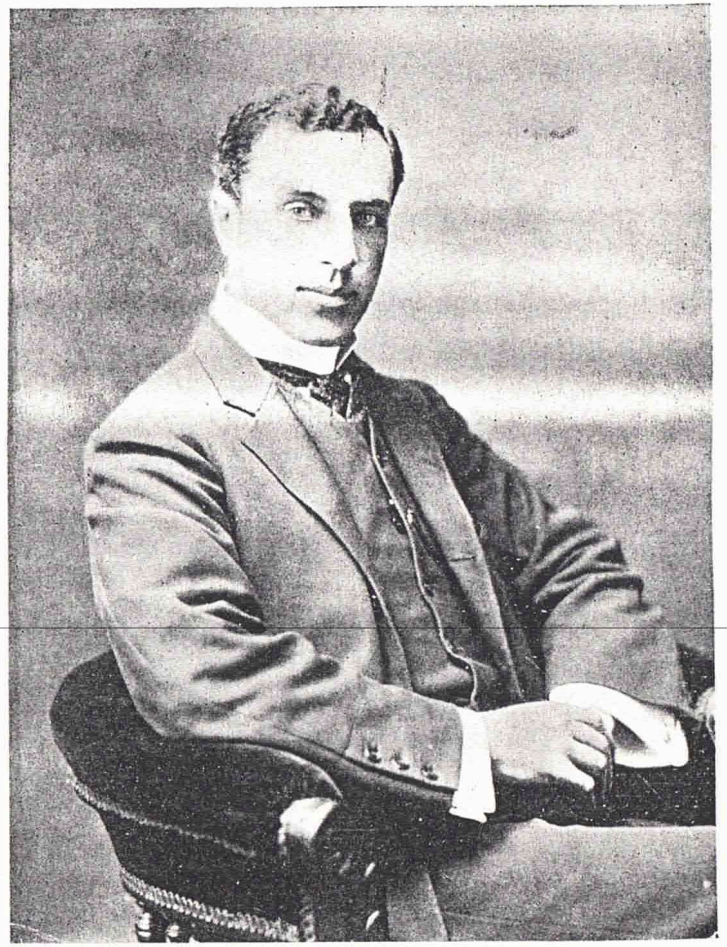
Diamond was in practice—he lived till 1918. W. Thomas, father of our present Dr. J. R. Thomas, was very active. Ovenden was the principal surgeon for a long period. A. C. de Renzi was booming in surgical work and continued so for a few years, but after obtaining a favourable verdict in the celebrated coccyx case he cleared off to go to the South African War and then had a job in India. He finally returned to Christchurch but died a year or two later. Townend began with one shilling and sixpence for medicine and advice, but later charged pretty high fees. He married an heiress here (about £750,000) and a year later had a stroke dying in the following year. McBean Stewart was an elderly man who had been lamed by a hemiplegia but still carried on. I remember having him in consultation in a case with pus in one pleural cavity. When he saw the pus which was thick and yellow, he advised against thoracotomy and actually there was no further trouble. Hunt was an exceedingly stout and short man with

long white hair and a bell topper. Carried round in a four-wheeled buggy drawn by a pair of white ponies, he was always swearing at or being sworn by the Woolston people—he lived in the Ferry Road. Meikle was a red-bearded serious fellow who had a long innings in practice and died aged 83. Symes was an ultra-scientific type painstaking, careless about his appearance but a good fellow.

Moorhouse who was a surgeon was good-natured and utterly casual. He finally got a job at sea on account of his asthma. Graham Campbell was a gynaecologist from Canada who did not stay long, but was a notable speaker at medical meetings. P. C. Fenwick began here in 1895. In those days practice was combative and keen especially for those interested in surgery. George and John Deamer were sons of a doctor who died just before I started. George went to the North Island and soon died there, and John died suddenly in early middle life.

Nedwill came here on account of tuberculosis of the lungs but lived to 83. He had a very long spell on the surgical staff of the Public Hospital. Greenwood helped Prins and carried on the latter's practice after his death. Prins himself had a very long innings here and died in 1897. His 'hobby' was racing, being the owner of gallopers. He was a small, very dark man remarkable for his reticence but had the biggest general practice for a long period. There was another elderly doctor at Papanui (Brittin) who had the whole of the north-western district to himself for a long time, and another very elderly one (Downes) near the Carlton Hotel. W. M. Cotter is living in his old home. Hacon—ex-superintendent of Sunnyside Mental Hospital—was practising, and, incidentally, he and Fenwick often clashed at medical meetings. Hacon didn't survive long. Bolger was another man who soon went away. I think he had been at Ashburton. The Medical Officer of Health was Finch. He too didn't last long. I am afraid the mortality was pretty high amongst the men already established when I began. The one and only specialist was L. S. Manning who lived on the site of 'Harley.' He did eye, ear, nose and throat and had the field to himself for many years and was a most conscientious man. J. Palmer was son-in-law and partner of Ovenden. He finally went sheep-farming, and I understand he is still alive. He must be near his eighties. Morton Anderson, the father of Dr. Douglas Anderson, was near me and his brother Richard carried on for about 50 years in Sydenham. The former was a good surgeon and did some eye and ear work as well. Another elderly medico was J. Irving who built and lived at 'The Limes.' He was a quiet little man who had a very large family and made a hobby of horticulture. I can remember also Clayton who was a London graduate, and a very active and scientific younger man named Gane who didn't stay long. Jennings was a busy practitioner who went round in a spanking turn-out and had a pretty long innings. He was a London man and very keen on his work.

I think I have given you a pretty complete list. The only survivor in practice is Fenwick. There was nothing spectacular about the doctors, they were steady-going workers for the most part, peaceable, be-whiskered, top-hatted, and respected in the community. Locomotion was per horse and gig or brougham or buggy. Thomas had a hansom and stuck to it to the end. Of course some of us had our eccentricities and there were odd clashes. I think differential diagnosis was a finer art then than now and consultations were grave disquisitions.



DOCTOR WALTER FOX

A NOTE FROM SIR HUGH ACLAND

At the present time I have so much work on hand that I am afraid 'history' will have to go. I have started to edit my father's diaries. Among other notes I found that when I was born Dr. Prins had a fee of five pounds. You will find the history of the Moorhouse family difficult to work out. Their 'lives' are in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.*'

In the early days at Mount Peel, Ben Moorhouse of Shepherds Bush used to come over the river to attend accidents, confinements and other emergencies. There was no doubt about his popularity. I think my mother used to consult a doctor at Temuka who was there early but I can't remember his name. Of course I knew young Doctor Ben Moorhouse and his work. One of the notable men about Mount Peel and Orari Gorge was Chudleigh and I remember the story of his having a Stokes-Adams attack and everybody thinking he was going to die. Little was known of heart diseases in those days.

When I began practice surgery was changing to the modern type with the encouragement given by the general adoption of asepsis. I came here with the ideas fresh while the older men were taking it up gradually. Dr. Nedwill and I were associated at the Hospital.

A NOTE FROM DR. P. C. CLENNELL FENWICK (Nov. 22nd, 1944).

I was travelling round the world and in 1895 came to Christchurch where I stayed three months as House Surgeon at the Hospital. After being in China and gaining experience with plague I began to practise in Christchurch in 1897 and the next year became Honorary Surgeon to the Hospital. After being at the South African War I returned in 1903 and was for a time Plague Officer at Burwood Hospital. For a time I was in Wanganui but again in Christchurch in 1906. From 1914 I was at the Great War till 1919. In 1924 I began the Radium Department. I have a claim to be the founder of Burwood and I planted 100 trees there in 1903. In 1899 I installed the first Xray in the Christchurch Hospital and have used my own plant from 1904 till the present. I bought my radium in 1908 and have used radium till this year. My friends have told me that I am entitled to put U.M.P. after my name. Enquiry reveals that the letters mean unsuccessful medical practitioner and I think I can safely use these letters.

(Later in this book the writer will attempt to write a full life of Dr. Fenwick who has had a distinguished military and medical career. Dr. Fenwick's father was a well known London physician and the family is distinguished in the Harley Street world. Our Dr. Fenwick is still actively engaged in the treatment of cancer cases. Many thousands of patients have been under his care and the medical profession owes him a great debt for his invariable kindness to these poor sufferers.)

THE MALVERN HILLS

The assistants of Captain Thomas were over the Malvern Hills before 1850. The history of the Homebush-Dalethorpe farming venture begins in 1850 or early 1851. Homebush, though not a Pilgrim venture, began in 1851. Some of the earliest runs selected by the Pilgrims lay between the Selwyn and the Rakaia. Rockwood, the station which offered a home to the first doctor, was taken up by Henry Phillips on July 15th, 1852. Of the other runs, Racecourse Hill was taken up in 1852, Bray Down in

1851, and Waireka in 1852. Farmers (cockatoos) came early on the good land, and, on some of the poor land, so that by 1870 the district was 'settled.' The Hills were close to Christchurch, and this helped early settlement. About 15 years ago, a series of articles on the district was published in one of the daily papers. These contained many inaccuracies. The only reliable authorities are *The Deans Letters* and *The Early Canterbury Runs*. It is ironical that the early onset of close settlement has pushed the history of the runs into almost oblivion. In other parts of Canterbury, close settlement came later.

The pioneer doctor about the Malvern Hills was Doctor Henry Richards—a Pilgrim of the *First Four Ships*. His father was an original purchaser. Some of the Doctor's descendants are living in the district. Before he died, Doctor Henry Frederick Meadows, a surgeon with a distinguished Crimean record, had begun practice at Sheffield. He did, in fact, attend Doctor Richards for the pneumonia which caused his death. I have received information about the Doctor through the kindness of his daughter, Mrs James Cordy. Some of the older residents of the district have written, and I think it worth while to record these letters.

LETTER FROM MR G. H. JUDD, 6/11/1944.

Dear MacMillan,—You mention early doctors in *The Press*. Dr. Watkins of Akaroa was the father of my brother-in-law, Frank Watkins, who was born in 1860. He died in Sydney, January 7th, 1944, aged 84. I dare say some of the Watkins family are still living. I last heard of one Nigel Watkins at Little River. I think Will Watkins was artist cum chemist.

I knew very little of Dr. Richards except that he lived at Racecourse Hill, and later at Hororata. Your father should know more of his history.

Dr. Meadows was born at Weymouth, April 8th, 1828 and died at Sheffield, N.Z., October 5th, 1896 from angina. He and I were close friends. Nevertheless I only gathered a very sketchy history of that good old G.P. He served as an army surgeon in the Crimea then returned to London practising there for a time, then to the Brazils in charge of a hospital there, then to Kaikoura, N.Z., and finally came to Sheffield where he practised for 17 years. He is buried in the Waddington cemetery. He was a gifted musician and took part in several oratorios in the Crystal Palace, London. He was a kind hearted and popular man and his early death was greatly mourned in the Malvern District.

At Sheffield, Dr. Davenport followed Dr. Meadows, but he soon moved away. I don't remember Dr. Greenwood at all. Later doctors, Dr. Inglis, Dr. Howard, Dr. Kerr, and others, worked the practice from Darfield. James Reid could give information about his cousin Kerr, but he is a poor correspondent.

Yours, etc., GEORGE H. JUDD.

LETTER FROM MR JAMES REID, 4/12/1944.

My cousin John Kerr was born in Beith Ayrshire, taking his degree at Glasgow in 1883. After being Superintendent of the Newcastle Hospital, N.S.W., for several years, he began at Darfield in 1889, and stayed till June or July, 1892. He returned to N.S.W. to practise at Woolongong till he retired in 1929. The late Dr. H. M. Inglis followed him at Darfield, and stayed till 1900.

Yours, etc., JAMES REID.

(22/12/1944)

Dear David,—You ask about early doctors in the Malvern District. Some years ago, one of the Reynolds family wrote a series of articles in an evening paper on the district. In the seventies, Charles Redfern ran a newspaper from Sheffield, but only published a few copies. I have some.

I remember Dr. Turnbull having a farm in the valley above Glentunnel, and Dr. Christy used to attend our family at Southbridge. You mention Abner's head. It is, of course, named after Abner Clough as also the pool beside the Homebush house. Abner's father used to break horses for us at Southbridge.

The only exploring of much interest was the efforts of the two gold mining companies up the Wilberforce. As far as I can remember, the Christchurch Company did very little, but the Moa Creek Company drove in a long tunnel and laid rails. The reef dipped to the Coast side. Of course much work was done by others on the Coast side. I remember being at Glenthorne one time when men came over for stores. The men working on the Moa Creek job lived on wild cattle, but, generally speaking, had a bad time. There were two MacAlpines, J. Teague, C. Piner, and Andrew Nuttall. I remember Ballance and Larnach staying with us when they were on their way up to the reef, so that the venture attracted some attention.

Doctor Richards had about a 100 acres at Racecourse Hill. He sold to Gunn who had been at Lake Selfe. Not many people know that Gunn had some paddocks of barley near the Lake. After buying from the Doctor, he bought more from Robert Eaglesome, and out of Bangor. You mention Norman in connection with the Doctor. Norman's Lane was named after him. One of his daughters married Colonel Snow. I have heard that T. H. A. Richards has a diary kept by the Doctor before he went up to Rockwood, but this is only hear-say.

Doctor Meadows was a fine doctor and very attentive. He set and reset my arm after a throw from a horse. The Doctor has a son Fred. The Doctor's daughter married Albert Kemp. The Kemps came from South Australia. The Registrar of Canterbury College is related. Mrs Kemp had one child. After the Doctor died, his daughter lived for a time with Fred Meadows—a nephew of the Doctor. Fred used to have secretary jobs about Christchurch.

Doctor Greenwood was at Sheffield, and then at Springfield. He practised but his health was bad. He lived in Mrs Ryan's house. I think his wife was a daughter of Professor Bickerton. He died at Springfield.

A Doctor Hoadley was at Hororata and Darfield for a time.

Doctor Inglis was a fine doctor. His widow, who was a Hawkes, still comes visiting about the district. The Doctor went to McKenzie (Cheviot).

Doctor Howard was an able doctor. We knew him best in connection with the Mounted Rifles. He had a son who was killed in the last war. He went to St. Clair (Dunedin) then to Nelson.

Doctor Davenport's widow lives in Christchurch.

Doctor Christy lived on the edge of the Leeston Killinchy Swamp, and Doctor Frankish had a farm near there. Doctors had farms all over the place in the seventies and eighties. Doctor Turnbull was a good deal about the district when he had the farm in the valley.

Yours, etc., FATHER.

DOCTOR HENRY RICHARDS OF HORORATA

The life of this pioneer serves to illustrate station life and methods of transport in the fifties and sixties, as it affected the Pilgrims. Few of the Doctor's associates were experienced runholders; their lives began in easier moulds. The Doctor was endowed with many useful and likeable qualities, but he was not a prolific writer, seldom went to town, and lived before the time when doctors were compelled to fill up health certificates and other forms. Hence we have few written records. Doctor Weld of Oxford would come to see a patient exclaiming, 'Well, how is the patient to-day? Not dead yet! I will send up a coffin on the waggon to-morrow.' Doctor Richards was not this cheery type. However, fortune, in one way, favours the historian. The Doctor was associated with T. H. Potts, the author of *Out in the Open,* the foremost field naturalist of the country, and a splendid anecdotal and descriptive writer. Lady Barker was also, for a short time, a neighbour.

Mrs Richards was a real pioneer. Educated and trained in early 19th century customs, she came, like many of her friends, and made a success in the colony. We often speak of the way cleared for the Pilgrims, but little was done on the domestic side. Knowing the backgrounds, one never ceases to wonder at the adaptability of British women. Above all things, the Richards had a large family—then as now, an essential virtue. Many of the family have been well known runholders. Those who attempt to record the lives of medical men must, of necessity record personal matters.

LETTERS FROM MRS JAMES CORDY, 20/11/1944.

I am a daughter of Dr. Richards and the last but one living of his family. Dean Jacobs (Dean of Christchurch) wrote the enclosed obituary for the press. Dr. Meadows was an old friend of my father's. I am afraid I cannot tell you much about him. He was a surgeon of a military family. I believe he had been in the Crimea. His brother was General Meadows. After her father's death, the Doctor's daughter went to England to live with the General's widow. I wonder if you are any relation of Mr David MacMillan who used to live at Sheffield—a very old family, probably a patient of my fathers. I have only one brother left, and he is 93 years, and I am 85, so I am fortunate in hearing of your enquiry about early doctors of Canterbury. Should you write a book, it will amuse the next generation! I may mention that Doctor Meadows was a good Church man. He was a lay reader and played the organ in the church at Sheffield.

Yours, etc., BEATRICE CORDY.

SECOND LETTER

I had no idea that you were a medical man. I apologise for addressing you as 'Mr'. You must have gone to Darfield after Dr. Simpson—a very poor place for a medical man 'starvation.' Now I must thank you for your most interesting letter. You seem to know more about my people than I do myself.

Now, to begin with, my father when he left England, did not mean to remain here. He came for four years, and then to go back, but I suppose with a young family it could not be done. The Phillips family and his were more than friends—he was their doctor and nurse combined, and hoped that the two families would be united, but it was not to be until Harold Richards married Freda Phillips.

Henry Richards

Now, I must try to find you something for your book. My brother Harry was the cripple. He wandered off and was lost, laid out all night, and was found next day with the dog (Rock) lying beside him. They found his leg was bent and could not be straightened, so my father packed him in his gun case, and carried him before him on horseback to take him to the Hosptial. He broke the journey and stayed the night at the Cordy's and then on resting at different places. When he reached the Hospital, nothing could be done (no massage in those days). He went on crutches and a stick for years, and then he married a hospital nurse, who persuaded him to go to hospital, and have a wedge taken out at the knee, and that made his leg straight. It is about ninety years since this happened. (The only hospital was at Lyttelton.) (D.M.)

My father brought two servants out with him—William Norman and his wife, but found he had no use for a lady's maid and a valet, and so dismissed them. Norman did well for himself. My father had 100 acres at Racecourse Hill, and sold it to Gunn.

Now, for mother, she was educated at a young ladies' boarding school, and had masters for singing and music. She was highly educated and accomplished, and did wonderful tapestry work. I remember she did twelve chairs, one for each of her children, one sent to England, one to Doctor Anderson, two for Mrs Campbell (the Doctor's wife), and one exhibited at a Christchurch exhibition. I liked my brother Jack's best, a beautiful piece of work, the family crest the 'Griffin' with ribbon and motto. Through doing all of this work, she lost her sight, and so gave it all up. She was a great reader, and missed it when she could not see. She died at the age of 91. Which of the Dobsons did you marry? I knew Ella and Clara. I knew all of the Potts daughters—they were old friends.

I wish I could tell you more. I may say both of my parents came of some of England's best aristocracy, and left beautiful homes to come to New Zealand wilds. People were healthy, no one was ill, and no population—there was no practice for a young doctor. I can't think of anything else. I hope you can make out this writing—a dreadful scrawl. I am not as young as I used to be. I am one of twins—my sister died 37 years ago, and a memorial chapel was built to her memory in St. Luke's Church also a window.

Yours, etc., BEATRICE CORDY.

Doctor Richards and his brother came with the Phillips and Brittans in the *Sir George Seymour.* We know that the Doctor was one of Lord Lister's dressers. The Doctor was trained before the examination fetish. At least six doctors came in the 'First Four Ships' and Doctor Donald was already practising at Lyttelton. Where did they expect to exert their skill? Before the first Pilgrims came, there were in Canterbury a few hundred hardy whites, and, of course, the Maoris. During the first year of the Pilgrim settlement, nineteen ships arrived safely, bringing about 3,000 persons, and a few more doctors among them. It is all very well to say that they did not need to practise, but few were of large independent means.

Henry Phillips, who was an original purchaser and a very active man in the Canterbury Association, came out with ample means, and, of course, no experience of farming or sheep. To the end, he remained the old fashioned type with more interest in his family, his friends, and his garden than in cattle or sheep. On February 16th, 1851, the Land Office was opened in Christchurch, and the Pilgrims began to select their rural and

town sections to fill the orders they had purchased in England. There were 106 land orders to be dealt with. The land orders for rural sections carried in each case the right to a town section. The rural sections were, in most case 50 or 100 acres. When the town sections were drawn, Henry Phillips, who had two choices, (Nos. 69 and 73) selected the sites of the Bank of New Zealand, Warners Hotel, and Hobbs' Building. Phillipstown bears the name of Henry Phillips. St. Martins lies in the bend of the Heathcote River, and originally comprised Rural Section 16 (100 acres). This was the property of Phillips who subdivided it for sale in lots of from two to seven acres. (*Lyttelton Times,* January 3rd, 1863). Doctor Richards likewise had rural and town sections. A published book records all the selections, but this book is hard to obtain. In the correspondence of Captain Thomas, I found a reference which states that on January 13th, 1851, G. Godley ordered Thomas to mark out the sections chosen at Papanui Bush by Messrs Bowen, Brittan, and Phillips. They must have had some special privileges.

When describing the state of Christchurch in 1852, George R. Hart said, 'The other noticeable private residences were those of Mr Philips, Mr. Rose and Captain Westenra. The first-named of these is still in existence (1886), on Oxford Terrace, in the occupation of Dr. Patrick. It was at the time I am writing of, quite out in the country, being surrounded by fern and tutu. Mr Rose lived in the house opposite where Dr. Prins now resides. This house has also undergone some strange mutations. It was first Mr Rose's private residence, then that of Judge Gresson, and afterwards an imitation, on a small scale, of Cremorne. The latter phase of its existence was under the supervision of no less a personage than Mr John Coker. Capt. Westenra lived in a house surrounded by a garden just about where Tattersalls is now. This house was also isolated, so that if I may be permitted the illustration, the residences I have spoken of, quite accidentally occupied three out of four quarters of the compass. Mr Philips was in the south, Dr. Barker in the north, and Mr Rose and Capt. Westenra in the east. The western part of the City did not then seem to be in fashion, though in later days it has become so.'

Henry Phillips took up the first part of Rockwood on July 15th, 1852. At the time, this seemed a good prospect. It was close to town, the bush was an asset, and water was handy. In the early days, the bush was beautiful. Phillips would have an eye to a garden and planting. Diaries indicate that cattle were the main stock in the early fifties. Acland states that by 1854 there were 300 sheep, and by 1858, these had been increased by breeding and purchase to 4,000. Early diaries indicate that many farming schemes were tried out; in these, Doctor Richards took a part. Phillips went ahead with his garden and planting. Many of the Pilgrims paid little attention to the native bush; English trees were planted, and hedge trees.

Doctor Richards drew the usual rural and town sections, and took up some pastoral land. In the Potts Diary, April 4th, 1857, we read: 'Mr Richards's town section is to be put up to auction next week, and his rural land is under offer for sheep.'

The Doctor went to Rockwood early in the fifties, where he was nurse, doctor, friend, and farmer. At the time Rockwood was a settled comfortable station, one of the first to have a good house and garden. The Governor was entertained on at least one occasion, and tradition is that champagne was cooled in the creek. With no assigned position, the Doctor lived at Pill Bush, but some say at the Bathing Hole. In those days stations kept few books—often a diary, some notes on the stock, and always marks

on the sheds. Many runholders would like to see those times again. Phillips had no more than a passing interest in the stock. Of a charming, equable temperament, gardening and entertaining his friends were his delights. No doubt he could, on occasions, rise to a public meeting since we know that he was a leading light in the Canterbury Association in England. The agreement with the Doctor was elastic—he farmed or changed his methods of farming as he wished. Some of the Richards family were born at Rockwood, and among these twin girls about 1859. When Henry, happily still alive, was taken to the Hospital the staff was two nurses only. This Hospital was at Lyttelton. The Rockwood bush was extensive and well grown, but Henry Phillips was a rabid planter of trees, fruit, vegetables, shrubs, and flowers. Like many of the Pilgrims he introduced European flora. 'Norway and Italian poplars were brought to Canterbury by Mr Phillips of Rockwood in 1851, the red currant and passion flower arriving about the same time—the latter from Auckland.' Phillips died of 'bronchitis' in September, 1877, and is buried in the bush at Rockwood. He never acquired the taste for sheep and runholding. His son, T. A. Phillips said: 'I came up after a year with the Studholmes at Waimate, and found the sheep at Rockwood in a deuce of a mess, my father knowing nothing. We didn't mention stealing, but I nose branded the lot.' The simple joys of those days were a good boundary, no scab, and no cockatoos, but many of the Pilgrims never enjoyed these blessings. Henry Phillips was not a young Pilgrim but he almost lived out the whole of the pioneering epoch.

Among other duties, the Doctor filled teeth—the shoulders of the Rockwood spoons were cut away to mix amalgum. We have a record of the Doctor going up the Ashburton, probably to Pott's station, Hakatere. to a frost bite case, where he amputated. Imagine the trip in the dead of winter—horseback and a punt at the Rakaia Gorge. In the station diaries we find references to the Doctor's activities: his schemes were often a failure but many Pilgrims suffered the same fate. In the fifties, many men such as Phillips and Richards tried to carry out the farming ideas of the Canterbury Association. In the diaries, we find that after a few years they explored the back country for runs. As to medical fees, such as they were in those days, the Doctor was a very generous man. To-day, we believe that a labourer is worthy of his hire. The Rockwood papers give one an idea of what happened when the Pilgrim methods of working the land were adopted. Mrs Richards held to her duties of family and home, making little fuss over the conditions. At least one of the runholders paid the Doctor a retaining fee, or a regular salary, but we do not know if the practice was common.

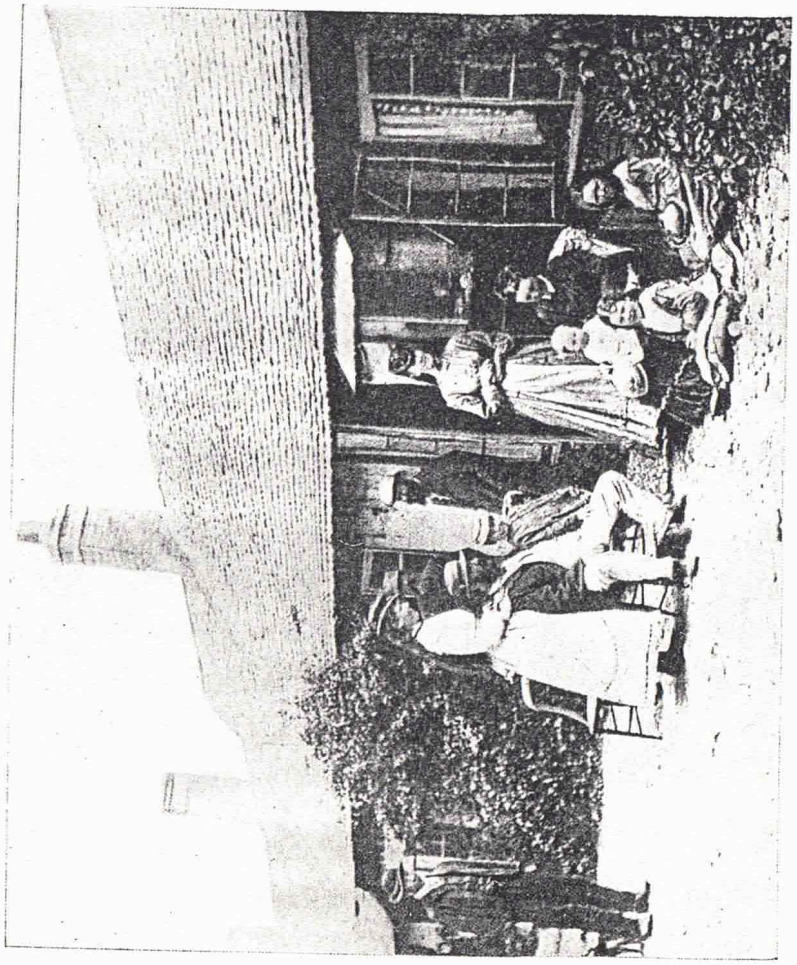
There was little 'history' in the life of the Doctor. In all the pursuits of life, luck or chance is the main factor. The Doctor was lucky in his family and his friends, but the reverse in his farming and his medical practice. The writer of these notes knows the Malvern District well, even to playing that delightful game quoits with the set used by the Doctor and his contemporaries at Rockwood. When I asked one of the Doctor's descendants about his life, he replied that it was rather humdrum—the Doctor amassed no fortune, was no Gil Blas, but had a large family. A visitor to one of the mission stations in the North reported twelve couples with eighty-eight children. When I mentioned this to a descendant of one of these parsons, she remarked, 'How disgusting!' so illustrating the fact that ideas change quickly. It is my contention that the greatest modern fault is the falling birth rate. The pioneering missionary spirit has gone,

Richards?

Moreover, we have a wrong conception of missionary outlook. In 1860, the Rev. J. Buller (Wesleyan) said: 'I have the privilege of belonging to the somewhat despised class of missionaries; but I am not less an Englishman because I am a missionary. In my intercourse with the Maoris, during a long experience, I have never allowed an insult to pass unreproved. And so well-disposed are a large section of the Maoris to ourselves that I fully expect to see contributions from them towards our ruined countrymen.' A common opinion is that the missionaries were rather feeble, but this view is absurd. We may take it that they were fully aware of the advantages of discipline and large families. I do not suggest that we should go so far as the Nazi soldier, whose usual epitaph is, 'Sleep tight, your children are playing soldiers!'

T. H. Potts was an early associate of Dr. Richards. Potts came out in 1854 in the *Balmaqueath*, and was soon at Vale Head near Rockwood and later on the north bank of the Rakaia. His wife was a daughter of Henry Phillips. In 1856 he bought Fernbrook in Governors Bay from Moorhouse, and developed the property into the well-known Ohinetahi. Like Marmaduke Dixon and others, Potts brought out specially made cases of English and other Europeans plants including azaleas and rhododendrons. Records show that he began a garden in Tuam Street. He also brought ferns and trees after making enquiries from Kew as to the 'most suitable plants to grow round the settlers' homes.' Potts became New Zealand's foremost field naturalist, supplying Buller with information about birds, contributing to scientific journals, and finally writing *Out in the Open*. He was essentially a field naturalist, but sketching and some cabinet work occupied his attention at odd moments. 'After a bird's nest, Potts could swarm a tree like a sailor, he had such strong arms.' In the fifties Rockwood Bush was full of pigeons and kakas, and Potts recorded a day's shooting in these words: 'Both of the old fowling pieces (one of them a Manton, I think) were taken down from over the chimney-piece and cleaned, ammunition sorted, wads punched out of a pack of cards, strong water-tight boots well greased with weka oil, tinder for a smoke or fire as might be required, was made out of condemned under-garment, and forcibly crammed, still hot and smouldering, into a little brass box (an implement which all upcountry hands then carried about with them, when matches were not found in any great profusion at stations); a chip of quartz was also necessary, whilst the pocket knife did duty for a steel. By the by, these brass boxes to hold tinder were said to have been made originally for keeping the licences of ticket-of-leave men across the water.' *Out in the Open* is a very rare book, but the writer understands that a full-dress life of T. H. Potts is in the making.

Some extracts from the T. H. Potts Diary illustrates old time activities. 'May 25th, 1855: T. H. P. forking over old carrot ground; after with Harry and E.P. to Rockwood. E.P. and Mr Phillips started for Christchurch. E.P. rode Polly as Mr Richards had not returned with Beda. Harry and Mr Jolly returned here with T.H.P. and played quoits. Mr R. returned in the evening, having been quite unsuccessful in his search (for cattle). Nurse plastering the nursery walls. Re-copied the Herd Book. June 30th: Hard frost. Seal and T.H.P. went shooting. Called at Rockwood. Bagged some teal, quail, etc., and killed a large male wild cat in the river bed. Nurse cutting wood. July 24th: Harry attained his majority. General holiday at Rockwood. Some went pigeon shooting, others played at quoits, singing and cards in the evening till a late hour. Sir W. Congreve, Mr Richards, Seal, etc., present; a most beautiful day.



MOORHOUSE FAMILY AT SHEPHERD'S BUSH

Richards

September 19th: Mr Richards came to announce that Mrs A. had given birth to a daughter on Monday. October 12th: Killed another weka this morning; it goes much against my inclination to wage exterminating war against these amusing and confident birds, but they are so partial to fowls' eggs and so persevering in their visits to the nesting places, that one is reduced to the alternative of wekas or eggs—we decide for the latter. January 29th, 1856: Yesterday Mr Tripp, Lieut. Wilson, and Mr Acland called. The latter to have the census paper filled up, which was done accordingly. March 12th: Mr Cordy came for Mr Richards as one of his daughters had broken her leg. Lent Mr Richards Buxom for his journey. Sunday, April 13th: In the afternoon saw some riders coming up the track. They proved to be Rev. W. Willock, accompanied by Mr MacFarlane, whose attention and company were necessary to the 'Iron Priest' in consequence of a severe fall from his horse. Seal was immediately despatched on Buxom to the Rakaia to warn Mr Studholme and Harry their presence would be required to-morrow. April 15th: Fine day, north west wind, T.H.P., Mr Studholme, John and Harry all left Rockwood on a walking expendition to the West Coast. (From April 16th to April 28th the party were away on an exploring trip described in detail in the diary. T. H. Potts and Jim made another trip from June 29th to July 5th. These trips were to look for sheep country.) April 28th: Mr Cordy, Dr Earle and John came up to borrow a horse but were unable to find them.

July 15th, 1856: T.H.P. and Mr Phillips received a message from Dr Donald, the coroner, to summon them to attend an inquest on the body of a poor fellow found perished from cold on the Desert Run, so they rode to the body, which was supposed to be a man not very favourably known as Crankey Bill, but as this was not certain further proceedings were deferred till the body could be brought to Christchurch to be identified. After this delay Dr. Donald, Mr Phillips, Sir William Congreve and T.H.P. rode into Christchurch which they did not reach till dark. They called on Mrs Miles and found Freddy very ill. The next morning attended the examination of a bushranger named Ronnage, whose feats during the few days previous had thrown the quiet folk of Christchurch into a state of great excitement. The Court was so crowded that the examination had to be adjourned to the Land Office on the basement, for fear the building should give way. The accused, who looked a ruffian, conducted himself with the utmost levity and impudence, occasionally threatening not only witnesses but the members of the Court also. The next day on enquiry and examination of the maps at the Land Office, found the country T.H.P. wished to apply for was taken up by Mr Davey.

Ronnage !!

August 7th: Called on Dr Barker who kindly gave me some cuttings. August 19th: To Rockwood in the evening to dinner. Messrs Stoddart, Oakden, Studholme, Richards there and of course a liberal supply of rubbers. November 6th: Mr Hall's shepherd the other day found a Maori tomahawk. The side next the ground had still some blood on it. November 17th: Watts called here and had dinner. Oakden's man called. Studholme called in the evening. Misty at night. Another man drowned crossing the Rangitata. November 18th: Quoits and cricket in the evening. January 16th, 1857: Dull morning. Hall's people very busy crossing or washing sheep. Heard yesterday that Mr Lawson and his shepherd were drowned in a branch of the Waitangi while sheep washing. The man was said to have been mounted on the same mare from which Mr C. Fendall was drowned. March 7th: Jim and M. Studholme rode here in the evening and had tea. They made T.H.P.'s mouth water at the mention of

some very excellent runs in the market in the Otago Province. What a pity it seems so much property I have in England, that I should be unable to have a little here to play with. Studholme's wool sold for 16d per lb. March 20th: Borrowed some candle cotton from Aylmer. The Bishop has just left for Christchurch. April 4th: Mr Richards lanced Donald's abscess which gave him great relief. Mr. Richards left after breakfast. Mr Richards' town section is to be put up to auction next week and his rural land is under offer for sheep. Talking of doctors, Donald is so much easier that he was trying to stand on his head this evening. Mr O'Neill came with the census paper: small as our family is, the row of Potts made quite a list. Cattle returned as about 250.

(On April 6th, 1857, T. H. Potts, Leach, and Harry Phillips started on an exploring trip described in detail in the diary. They discovered Lakes Heron and Clear Water. It seems remarkable that three runholders were the first Europeans to see these lakes.) April 14th: At last we saw a house (J. Brittan's) the first since last Tuesday, and without stopping anywhere we made for the Rakaia, and were hospitably received by Tom Hall and Mrs Hall. Many were the enquiries as to what we had seen and where we came from, to which we gave as judicious answers as we could. Next morning we trotted on to Lean's and crossed the river (Rakaia) to Studholme's who would have us dine there. We told them our adventures, and John was sorry he did not join us as we had expected. We got home all right quite pleased with our trip, having been the first who have discovered a route from the Rakaia to the Ashburton by the Westward Hills, and most likely the plain we found will be a valuable discovery for ourselves. April 15th: John and Michael Studholme called and with Seal and Harry to Rockwood. Leach to his station. T.H.P. on Dolly to the cattle. Jim making a bullock yoke. Killed a sheep. Fine day. April 28th: Fine day. Mr Cordy and James Cordy here this evening with a note from Miles to say I was just in time, so I have taken and *stocked* the most Westerly run yet discovered in about the shortest time on record. Tripp has taken up a run next to mine. May 5th: Studholme left after breakfast. He strongly advised T.H.P. to apply for an additional 7000 acres adjoining T.H.P.'s run on the Rangitata and that would include all the best country about there. May 6th: Rather dull morning. Jim mending his stock whip. T.H.P. melting fat. In the evening writing. Watson called on his way home with Leach's dray. He met two men and a pack horse near our runs. This information was exceedingly interesting as at the present time there's much scrambling for runs. Wrote and sent the following letters:— Mr Hunt, Dutton, F. Catling, Mrs Kent, Mr Miles and Rev. W. Willock. To the latter and Mrs Kent informing them I was desirous of taking cattle on my run at 8/- per annum or on terms. Gave Jim an advertisement to put in the paper about cattle for pasturage. May 7th: A large fire beyond the gorge behind Oakden's. May 15th: Harry left for Rockwood with the cart to fetch the Misses Cordy. May 22nd: Sir W. Congreve came with Leach who went on in the evening. James Cordy, Lockhart, and Moorhouse with some cattle on way south.

July 16th, 1857: Saw in newspaper the sale of Dr. Moore's shorthorns advertised for Monday at Charteris Bay; if T.H.P. goes he must start tomorrow morning. July 20th: Mr Tomlinson has started for Akaroa to search for Mr Dickin who has been lost some days. August 9th: Fine day. Studholm's horse broke away. Many scandalous tales concerning different persons in Christchurch and Port. January 2nd, 1858: Richards recommenced dairying. March 19th: In the afternoon Mr and Mrs Richards

rode over here, the latter has never been out of Rockwood but once since our arrival in the colony.

There is evidence in the diary that Dr. Richards was paid a retaining fee by T. H. Potts. For July 31st, 1856 the diary records: 'T.H.P. went to see Mr Richards and had a conversation with him about his charge for medical attendance. T.H.P. told him he really could not afford to continue his annual salary and Mr Richards then readily offered that no stipulated sum was to be paid, but should his services be required, a proportionate honorarium should be given him.' Other runholders may have paid the Doctor a retaining fee, but the writer has found no reference to this effect in other station diaries.

Further extracts from the Potts Diary are quoted in *The Early Canterbury Runs,* and the bushranger Ronnage is mentioned in *Place Names of Banks Peninsula.* Sir William Congreve mentioned in the diary was the stock inspector always on the watch for scab.

Lady Barker, wife of Frederick Napier Broome, was at Steventon near Rockwood, and in her book *Station life in New Zealand* we find that in December, 1866 she rode over to Rockwood for a birthday party. From a high point on the saddle she noted: 'Just at our feet the Rockwood paddocks looked like carpets of emerald velvet, spread out among the yellowish tussocks; the fences which enclose them were either golden with broom and gorse, or gay with wild roses and honeysuckle. Beyond these we saw the bright patches of flowers in the garden, and nothing could be more effective than the white gable of the house standing out against the vast Black Birch forest which clothed the steep hill sides for miles—the contrast was so picturesque between the little bit of civilisation and culture and the great extent of wild savage scenery around it. After the utter treelessness of our own immediate neighbourhood, the sight of such a mass of foliage is a joy to my eyes.' And in June, 1868 after a fall from a horse she says, 'At last we reached Rockwood and never was its friendly shelter more welcome.'

Many of our moderns consider that Lady Barker is too 'flowery,' but such a contention is absurd. Quick fences run wild have spoilt much valuable country but neglect was the prime cause, and Rockwood was the scene of a remarkable change: in *The Early Canterbury Runs* we read that, 'In 1865 the first wire fence on the hills of Canterbury was put up as a boundary between Malvern Hills and Rockwood—but an earlier wire fence was put up by Rowley at Clent Hills in 1863.'

Lady Barker came to Lyttelton in 1865. She says, 'We could not get in at all near the landing place, and had to pay £2 to be rowed ashore in an open boat with our luggage. I can assure you it was a very 'bad quarter of an hour' we passed in the boat; getting into it was difficult enough.' 'I am very much struck by the healthy appearance of the people. There are no paupers to be seen; every one seems well fed and well clothed; the children are really splendid.' Of course as might be expected, there is a great deal of independence in bearing and manner, especially among the servants, and I hear astounding stories concerning them on all sides—We looked at some small houses in or about the suburbs of the town and were offered the most inconvenient little dwellings with rooms that were scarcely bigger than cupboards, for £200 a year; we saw nothing at a lower price than this, and any house of a better class, standing in a nicely arranged shrubbery, is at least £300 a year.——Cab hire is another thing that seems to me disproportionately dear, as horses are very cheap. There were no small fares, 2/6 being the lowest; and I soon gave up returning

visits when I found that to make a call in a Hansom three or four times out of the little town cost £1 or £1/10/- even remaining only a few minutes at the house.——All food (except mutton) appears to be as nearly as possible at London prices, but yet every one looks perfectly well-fed, and actual want is unknown. Wages of all sorts are high, and employment a certainty. The look and bearing of the immigrants appear to alter soon after they reach the colony. Some people object to the independence of their manner, but I do not; on the contrary, I like to see the upright gait, the well-fed, healthy, look, the decent clothes (even if no one touches his hat to you), instead of the half starved, depressed appearance, and too often cringing servility of the mass of our English population.——As for scandal in the ordinary acceptation of the word, it is unknown; gossip there is in plenty, but it generally refers to each other's pecuniary arrangements or trifling peculiarities, and is all harmless enough. I really believe that the life most people lead here is as simple and innocent as well can be imagined.——A married man is an object of envy to his less fortunate brethren, and he appears anxious to show that he appreciates his good fortune.'

Lady Barker refers to the evil smells of Christchurch in the evenings owing to the impossibility of getting a proper system of drainage, the alarming infantile mortality, and the fact that there is too much talk about money by the inhabitants.

Lady Barker married Frederick Napier Broome, a cadet on Steventon, then owned by Richard C. Knight. In 1866 Broome and another cadet (Henry P. Hill) bought Steventon. The Broomes re-built the house which they named Broomielaw. At the end of 1867 Broome sold out his interest and subsequently left New Zealand with his wife. He was a remarkable man. Somewhat of a poet he became a leader writer on the *Times* and eventually Governor of Bermuda, and later of Western Australia. He was a fine athlete. Near Steventon is Flagpole Hill from the top of which is a fine panorama of the Plains.

It was at Alexander Macmillan's prompting that Lady Barker wrote her first book in 1870—the well-known *Station Life in New Zealand*. Heathstock, Broomielaw and Rockwood are mentioned in the book. She published six books. Broome was very keen on pig-hunting. He was governor of Trinidad when he died in 1896. He became K.C.M.G. in 1883 and in later life his wife called herself Lady Broome. She died on March 6th, 1911 aged 80. Of her writing I like the New Zealand story in *Christmas Cake* the best of all.

After his Rockwood days Doctor Richards moved to a farm of 100 acres on the west side of Racecourse Hill. This farm was later sold to Mr Alec Gunn who bought more and developed the property which is farmed by his son to-day. The writer remembers that old gabled house of the Doctor set snugly against the hill. From here the Doctor practised over thirty and more miles around on horses with an 'out-station' at Courtenay—a consulting room in the Accomodation House. In those days Courtenay was something of a centre with several ex-Army men on the runs. The 'Courtenay gentlemen' were a power in the land. Doctor Richards was the first doctor in the whole area included in the modern Selwyn, Malvern and Tawera counties. Records show that keeping up the horses was a work in itelf, and an urgent night call in winter was an ordeal before which many modern medical men would quail. An old resident told the writer that he met the Doctor at the Rakaia Gorge at four of a winter morning; the Doctor had been up the gorge to amputate. In the middle sixties Rhodes and Wilkin were the owners of Racecourse Hill

Richards

with H. J. Davison as manager, and contacts between the station and Doctor's house were free and neighbourly. The practice was meagre compared with modern standards, trained nurses being unknown. 'We didn't need doctors and nurses much, we helped each other.' By 1870 farmers and townships had altered the whole aspect of the district and the pioneering days round the Malvern Hills were over.

To be near his friends the Doctor moved to Hororata and lived in the house afterwards occupied for so long by Truman Jones. The house was pulled down about 1939 soon after Truman died. Dean Jacobs, a distinguished classical scholar, was an old friend of the Richards family, in fact a shipmate. He had been chosen in 1850 as classical professor of the proposed College in the Canterbury Settlement. When the Doctor died the Dean wrote an appreciation for the Christchurch papers.

The Dean stated that the Doctor married Amelia Weston a few days before they left England. The Doctor left five sons and three daughters. 'His three daughters of whom two were twins, are all married, one to Mr James Cordy of Hororata, another to Mr Reginald Templar, and the third to her cousin, a son of Mr Joseph Richards. His health had been latterly failing but it was only on Friday last that he was taken seriously ill with inflammation of the lungs. Dr Meadows having been sent for, remained with him until his death, which took place at 1.45 a.m. on Whitsunday, May 29th. Mr Richards was in the sixty-second year of his age. He is to be buried in the Hororata Churchyard to-day.'

ASHBURTON

In the early days, the Rakaia and the Rangitata were dangerous rivers. A full Ashburton was not to be taken too cheaply. John Hall was the first to obtain a licence for a run south of the Rakaia, but not wishing to have this troublesome river between his station and Christchurch, he gave up the run and bought M. P. Stoddart's run at Hororata. About this time, his brothers, George and Thomas, took up runs south of the Rakaia, and later established a station there named Elloughton (later Highbank).

By January, 1852, most of the country between the Ashburton and the Waitaki rivers had been applied for, but it is doubtful if many of the applicants had visited the country they proposed to take up, for W. H. Valpy Junior who rode through from the north to Otago in May, 1852, thought it worth while to describe, in a letter that was published, his journey after crossing the Rakaia, and the only habitation mentioned by him was that of the Rhodes brothers (The Levels). In another place in these notes, I have mentioned the applications of the Rhodes brothers. We must remember that before 1820 there was for a short time a whaling station at Timaru. It was then that Caroline Bay was named, presumably after the whaling ship *Caroline*.

The country between the Ashburton and the Rangitata was settled in the following way. The first to apply for a run was Major E. M. O'Connell on September 9th, 1851, and two months later his brother-in-law, George Gawler Russell, applied for a run bordering on his, but nearer the hills, and including the country in the fork of the Hinds River. The Major's run was not developed, nor was rapid progress made with Russell's. When W. G. Brittan issued licences on October 2nd, 1854, Russell's (No. 8) outside the Block, was estimated at 34,000 acres, but after a survey in 1856, at 42,000 acres. It was bounded on the south by the southern branch of the Hinds, and on the north by the south branch of the Ashburton. It

included the low hills, then called Gawler Downs, and now the Surrey Hills. Russell died in 1860, and in 1861, the run was transferred to G. A. Anstey, who transferred it to W. S. Peter in 1862.

Licences for three other runs were also issued on October 2nd, 1854. These were numbers 14, 15, and 26.

No. 14 (34,500 acres) was licenced to W. Haslewood. It lay between the Ashburton and the Hinds, bordering on No. 8 but nearer the sea coast. Subsequently, it was divided, the upper part (14,500 acres) being transferred to C. Hurst became Valetta; the lower part (20,000 acres) was taken up by C. Reed.

No. 15 (22,500 acres) was licenced to John Hall. It bordered on No. 14 and lay nearer the coast. In 1863, the licence was held by C. Reed. This run and the lower portion of No. 14 became Westerfield.

No. 26 (31,000 acres) was licenced to George John Rogers. It lay between the Hinds and the Rangitata beginning ten miles from the sea coast and extending to fifteen miles therefrom. It became Maronan.

Licences for five runs were issued on February 1st, 1855 as follows:— No. 37 (25,000 acres) to Ernest Gray was situated on the Rangitata between Roger's run and the coast. It was bounded on the north by Run No. 41. No. 41 (20,000 acres) was licenced to William Sefton Moorhouse. It reached to the Hinds River. Apparently, Moorhouse did not occupy his run, which was very soon transferred to William Scott, who, in partnership with Ernest Gray, established the Coldstream Station.

No. 38 (46,000 acres) was licenced to Allan, John, and Robertson McLean. It lay between the Ashburton and the Hinds, extending from Hall's run (No. 15) towards the sea for eight miles, and distant eight miles from the sea. This was Lagmhor.

No. 40 (40,000 acres) was licenced to B. M. Moorhouse. It lay between the south branch of the Hinds and the Rangitata and it became Shepherds Bush No. 42 (54,000 acres) was licenced to John Cracroft Wilson and St. G. Nugent. It lay between No. 40 (Moorhouse) and No. 26 (Rogers). The eastern boundary of this run was described as a line from a point about one mile below McDonald's crossing on the Rangitata, 39E mag. to the Hinds, and the western boundary as a line from the first island in the Rangitata, above the corner of Peel Forest, across to a point on the Hinds about a quarter of a mile below the Fork. (the present site of Mayfield).

There were three runs in the forks of the Ashburton River. These were licenced and numbered under the regulations of the original Canterbury Block, and not under those of Sir George Grey.

No. 97 (6,500 acres) was the narrow strip of country in the lower part of the forks which was taken up originally by W. B. Tosswill and transferred to George W. Hall February 14th, 1854. A station was established here in 1857 and in 1862 it was transferred to Greenstreet. The station was later known as Ringwood.

No. 126 (20,000 acres) was elected in 1854 and established in 1855 by Messrs L. T. Kennaway and Delamain. It lay between the northern and middle (Taylor's Stream) branches of the Ashburton. It became Alford Forest.

No. 125 (20,000 acres) was taken up by J. Brittan in 1856. It lay between Taylor's Stream and the southern branch of the Ashburton, and extended westward to the acreage granted. This became Buccleuch and it bordered on Mount Somers run taken up in 1856 by Tripp and Acland.

Between McLean's run and the sea there was much swampy ground. In November, 1854 Charles Seal applied for 30,000 acres between the Ashburton and the North branch of the Hinds. James Field applied for 14,000 acres describing it as 'an island on the sea coast in the forks of the Hinds.' In March, 1855 C. B. Fooks applied for 4,000 acres in the forks of the Hinds and a licence was recommended. Messrs Fitzgerald, P. Cox, Draper, and Hunter Brown bought the run from Fooks, and established a cattle station there in 1857. This run (No. 51) was a strip of land one mile 72 chains in depth along the sea coast between the two streams of the Hinds. P. Cox lived there for a time in a hut, about the site of the present Longbeach house, and it was Cox who named the station Longbeach.

G. H. Moore, who had Wakanui, obtained a licence for the country applied for by Charles Seal. He obtained this licence (No. 297, 30,000 acres) on January 1st, 1858. Moore sold to Messrs Templer and Campbell who sold to Messrs Russell and Grigg in 1864. In 1864 Grigg bought 2000 acres of the run before he acquired the rest of the run.

The country south of the Rangitata was settled in the following way:—

The run, known later as Peel Forest, was applied for by Vincent Hewitt on January 8th, 1852.

Colonel Campbell issued a licence to Francis Jollie on September 27th, 1853 for 25,000 acres (Run No. 12) between the Orari and Rangitata rivers. It was described as 'bounded on the north west by the mountains and on the south east by a line parallel to the sea at such a distance from the mountains as shall give in one block the prescribed extent only.' For this country, W. G. Brittan issued a fresh licence (No. 13) in October, 1854. The run was said to be 27,300 acres and the south east boundary was given as 'a line about 14 miles 28 chains from and parallel to the coast line.' Jollie's run was called Orari and in 1855 was held on terms by Edmund Gibson, whose house was on the Orari river flat between the present Orari Gorge house and Silverton. The stock returns show 1,382 sheep in 1854, 2,100 in 1855, 2,500 in 1856 and 1,800 in 1857.

All the country between the Rangitata and the Orari below Jollie's run was held by W. K. and A. Macdonald in four runs—102,000 acres—under licences issued by Brittan in 1854. There were 3,000 sheep in 1854, 4,000 in 1855, 6,000 in 1856, and 8,000 in 1857. The Macdonalds had come from Australia with the McLeans in 1853, and before coming south, took over with them Run 37 on the south branch of the Waimakariri, originally taken up by Charles Wedge.

Alfred Cox purchased in Australia the licences issued by Colonel Campbell of two runs south of the Orari River. In 1854 he came to New Zealand, inspected the runs, and, under W. G. Brittan's administration, received licences for Runs 18 and 31. These were 20,000 acres between the Orari and the Hae hae te moana, extending from a line $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the sea to 21 miles from the sea. The western boundary of No. 31 was not defined for several years. When a survey was made, it was placed nearly to Andrew's Creek in the Orari Gorge country. Later, Tripp and Acland purchased the good part of 9,000 acres of this run. The two runs of Alfred Cox comprised all the Geraldine, Woodbury, Waihi, Lower Four Peaks, and Lower Orari Gorge country. Later, Cox acquired Run 43 which lay between his two original runs and the sea. After visiting his runs in 1854, Cox returned to Australia for stock, came back, and left again, leaving William Dumoulin in charge. He did not himself settle at his station (Raukapuka) until 1857.

In 1855, Tripp and Acland began their explorations and began taking up runs—a notable pioneering and exploring work. This has been described by several writers.

Runs south of the Rakaia were established relatively late. Ethel McQuilkin states that in 1857 the population of the area between the two rivers was about 100 persons living in eight or nine scattered homesteads. The white population in New Zealand has been given as follows:—Auckland 1855, 11,919; New Plymouth 1855, 2,113; Wellington 1855, 8,127; Canterbury 1854, 3,895 and 1856, 5,347; Otago 1856, 3,766. These years were before the gold rushes. It has been estimated that the population of New Zealand was 30,000 in 1855, and 40,000 in 1856. In 1854, there were living within the town belts of Christchurch 548 persons in 109 houses. Lyttelton and suburbs had 919 in 179 houses. The Avon, Heathcote, and Lincoln Road districts had 525, Riccarton 362, and Papanui 369.

In almost every diary and other records, there are references to the drownings and near shaves in the rivers.

In 1863, Robert Park surveyed the town of Ashburton—the town is a late arrival. The Road Board held its first meeting in 1864. In that year Thomas Moorhouse was in charge of the Ashburton Station for Tancred and Allen. In 1864, Cobb and Co. started an agitation about the crossing over the Rangitata at Marshall's and the 'buck' was passed to the Road Board. This body asked Dr. Ben Moorhouse of Shepherd's Bush to obtain an estimate and a contract for removal of the boulder stones then obstructing the crossing. This river has always been noted for the size of its boulders. Previously the coaches, and other 'traffic' had taken a line through Cracroft Wilson's run, but now the runs began to be fenced.

Satisfactory ferries were established over both rivers by 1860. In 1870, a traffic bridge was built over the Rangitata, and this became a centre. The meaning of Rangitata has, from the earliest days, excited discussion. Edward Dobson, a noted Maori scholar, gave it as 'Near to Heaven.' This authority lived in the district, and there has been a suspicion that he had his 'tongue in his cheek.' After reading about Abner Clough and the mokihi, and other reports of the crossings in the early days, one begins to wonder what is the correct meaning of the name. There are early reports of Maoris making long trips up and down Canterbury in large parties on horses. Floods washed away the approaches to the traffic bridge in 1876, and in 1878, and it was not until 1883 that the bridge was open to traffic again. There was a ferry at the Rakaia Gorge. Bryant was a notable man at this ferry, but if a strong nor'wester was blowing it was useless trying to call over the river. A bridge over the Rakaia was not built till later. By some the delay was ascribed to a wish of the runholders to delay squatters. At this distance of time, the assertion is incapable of proof, and must remain an unkind 'cut' at the men who had the courage and tenacity to open up the country.

Doctor Ben Moorhouse, the elder, was the first doctor between the rivers, and there are numerous records of his crossing the Rangitata to see serious cases. Dr. Henry Richards of Rockwood occasionally attended patients south of the Rakaia. I have already noted that Dr. Draper, who was a brother of Mrs J. E. Fitzgerald, was a victim of the Ashburton. He is mentioned in the Homebush Journal of 1851. As yet, I know nothing of his medical activities. Ethel McQuilkin says, 'Although there was no doctor practising in the district, many a man and woman who fell sick in the early days was deeply indebted to Dr. Ben Moorhouse of Shepherd's Bush Station, who was always ready to give his surgical skill or advice

free of charge to all who needed it. Later, Dr. Hurst and Dr. Croft commenced practice in Ashburton. They were followed by Dr. Trevor, so well known in the county.'

Dr. James Ebeneezer Trevor, M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. was born in Plymouth and was at St. Mary's Hospital. For some time he was ship's surgeon in the Royal Mail service to the West Indies, and then for a time in practice near London. He came to New Zealand in 1868 and soon was at Kaiapoi. This is his address in *Wise's Directory* of 1875, though I have heard that he began at Ashburton in 1872. As yet, I know little of the Ashburton doctors and I hope that some local historian will send me information.

In *The History of Ashburton* there are some records of early medical activities. The history of the Moorhouse family is so difficult to unravel, that it is of interest to note that 'It seems that during the early sixties the church services were held in the woolshed of the Ashburton Station, which Mr Thomas Moorhouse was managing. The whole Turton family used to go up to the station in their bullock dray. There was no resident minister then. The mention of 'Tom' Moorhouse led John Turton to tell this story: Tom was the only J.P. in the district close handy to the accommodation house, and he attended at 'Court' when the necessity arose. . . . . .' Another record concerns the skill of Mrs Turton. 'And how Mrs Turton could go out to attend the sick among her other manifold duties is hard to conceive, but this she did. Some of our citizens, even now, speak of her skill in nursing, which skill, by the way, she seems to have passed on to her grand-daughter, for Mr and Mrs John Turton's daughter, Mrs Allan Pithie, was a nurse before her marriage. It would seem in those days as if each had to help the other in their days of trial, but the community spirit thus bred seems to have gone with the pioneering days. This should not be; rather should that spirit again be cultivated, for after all we are but a small community in a stressful world, and our 'three score years and ten' are small in the record of the thousands of years before and since the birth of Christ. The units of a community are small indeed in the immensity of Time.'

Mr and Mrs Jameison reached Ashburton in 1865. 'It was a Dr. Croft who attended Mrs Jameison at the birth of a child soon after the family reached Ashburton. Dr. Croft did not stay long in the small community. The child was never well from the beginning, and six weeks after its birth it died, no doctor being then available.'

We read that Doctor Trevor was a J.P. and frequently took the Court, and that in 1878 Dr. Stewart and Dr. Kesteven were interested in the Steeplechase.

The medical arrangements for the birth of Christopher Johnstone at Clent Hills on July 18th, 1868 are typical of many such events. 'The snow was lying on the ground two feet six inches deep, and it was towards the end of July. Tom was only twelve years of age, and he was sent to show me the way to Jim. They each rode a draught horse, and Jim led one for me as well. It was eight miles to where I was living at Hakatere, they had to tread out their track, and, having got me, stumble back over the track again. It was sixteen miles, and it took me the whole night to do it. It was truly a journey to remember—'black' night, piercing cold, and fearful trail—a woman, a man and a boy. I was in time to welcome you into the Gorge.' As Dr. Robert Valpy Fulton has said, 'We should stand bareheaded with reverence when we think of them.'

In *The History of Ashburton* James Carr says, ' One of our difficulties in the early days of Methven was the need of a medical man to reside there instead of waiting until one could be obtained from Ashburton, often with a delay of twenty four hours. Several medical men, such as Dr Hamilton and Dr. Burrell, did set up in practice, but soon found more remunerative districts, and Methven was left without. On one occasion in Dr. Burrell's time, he needed another medico to consult with in a case where a farmer had had a leg broken, and the flesh seriously torn. A medical man had to come from Christchurch to Methven by special train, consisting of an engine and one carriage. I think the cost of the train was £25. In 1906 a committee was formed to canvas the district, and a sum of £300 per annum was guaranteed to a suitable doctor, over and above what he could earn in fees, and a Dr. James was appointed. Since he left there has been sufficient practice to enable Methven to retain the services of one without the guarantee.'

About the turn of the century special trains were in fairly common use, not to transport doctors but for clearing sales, weddings and other functions. In early medical practice ' subsidy ' or ' guarantee ' were not uncommon methods of attracting a doctor to a district. The doctor's preference was always for a ' subsidy ' since few doctors cared to show an income less than the ' guarantee.' But, in general, it is a very wrong principle to attract a doctor to a district where a subsidy is necessary. Should a doctor go to such a place he will usually find that the more well-to-do patients are employing a more expensive doctor.

In 1879 the Ashburton County Council asked Dr. Stewart, Dr. Trevor, and Dr. Ross to state their recommendations with regard to a hospital at Ashburton. At the same time they ordered £120 worth of surgical instruments from England. Dr. Trevor started work on July 1st, 1880 at a salary of £150 per annum. In the writer's opinion the County Council and especially its committee (Messrs Grigg, Wright, Walker and Wason) showed great wisdom in seeking the advice of the Doctors before a start was made. Had this step been followed in other parts of New Zealand many mistakes would have been avoided. The Doctors were asked the following questions:—1. Would you recommend a hospital complete for all cases or merely an accident ward? 2. What is your opinion as to requisite buildings? 3. What amount of accomodation do you consider should be provided generally for patients, basing your calculations upon the population and extent of the county? 4. Of the reserves available which do you consider the most eligible site for hospital buildings? 5. Can you give an estimate of probable cost of appliances, surgical and otherwise. 6. Would you give the Council an estimate of the probable yearly cost of maintenance? 7. Can you suggest any other points on which you would wish the Committee informed? Dr. Stewart attended in person to answer the questions and Dr. Trevor and Dr. Ross wrote in reply.

If all members of committees were as able as Messrs Grigg, Wright, Walker and Wason there would be few troubles. All four were well known men in Canterbury, and, later in life, Wason sat in the House of Commons. He could be seen knitting in the House, the object being to advertise Shetland wool.

The life histories of the gifted Moorhouse brothers, William Sefton, Ben and Tom, are not well known, but there is a good life of William Sefton in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. They were sons of William Moorhouse, a well known man in Yorkshire, the County Magistrate. All of them started life with a liberal education, and William was

eventually called to the Bar at the Middle Temple. It would appear that the brothers came to New Zealand in 1851 in the *Cornwall*. They purchased land at Sumner and other places near Lyttelton and in the country intending to form a partnership. William made several trips to Australia and was engaged in varied pursuits and Ben explored in the Wairarapa. They returned to Lyttelton in 1852 or 1853 and then went over to Australia returning the next year. Thereafter, William's life is well recorded though he moved about a good part of his time. Another Moorhouse, Edward, is mentioned in early records. T. H. Wigley married a sister, and in 1869 another sister became the second Mrs W. B. Rhodes. William Ferguson married a daughter of W. S. Moorhouse.

In 1854 Benjamin and Thomas Moorhouse took up Shepherd's Bush run but Tom soon sold out his interest to Ben. Doctor Ben, as he was known, died in Timaru aged 42 in the year 1872 but his widow kept on the station till 1885. The writer searched the files of the *Timaru Herald* but there was no office copy for the year 1872. Acland (21) says, ' He (Doctor Ben) had given up his profession before he came to Shepherd's Bush, but still did a great deal of doctoring for nothing and would travel any distance into the back country in any weather if there was an accident or a confinement and no other doctor could be got. He was a great friend of Sir Cracroft Wilson's but his cattle used to wander down the Rangitata and break into Sir Cracroft's paddocks. I have already described Sir Cracroft—" The Nabob." He had a violent Anglo-Indian temper and Moorhouse's cattle used to annoy him. He used to complain, " A man may try to shoot me, rob me, abuse me, or anything else, but by God, sir, a man who eats the very grass that makes my living is beyond all bearing." '

In *The History of Ashburton* we read that ' On one occasion Mr Stace —the owner of a back-country run—became suddenly ill while staying here (Turtons at Ashburton). Dr. Ben Moorhouse, of Shepherds Bush, was the only doctor in the county, and he was sent for. Shepherds Bush, on the Rangitata River well above Cracroft, must have been close on forty miles away, and Dr. Moorhouse was managing his run and not practising his profession. But he hastened to his friend Stace's bedside and stayed there until he had pulled him through his serious illness. Stace gratefully presented him with two working bullocks for his medical attention.'

Sheep, cattle and pigs were shown at a ' show ' in Market Square (Victoria Square) in the early fifties, but only one comprehensive show is recorded. There were of course ' travelling shows.' The early horticultural shows, the first shows in Canterbury, were mostly limited to flora. As far as the writer knows there were no shows in Akaroa, the first town in Canterbury, before the First Four Ships.

The first agricultural and pastoral show in Canterbury was held in 1859 at Shepherds Bush. As far as the writer knows there is no report on this function extant, but, naturally, it was mostly a merino show. But one cannot imagine the early runholders being content with only merino pens. In 1860 a show was held at Turtons, Ashburton. In 1863 there was a ' general show ' in Judge Gresson's paddock in Latimer Square, and Robert Wilkin was president. He took steps to found the Association which continues to-day. At the time of the first show the newly-born young Ben Moorhouse was presented with some of the merinos.

A writer in the *Star-Sun* (November 7th, 1945) states that the first show was conducted by the Canterbury Pastoral Association and that, at the time, it was intended to hold migratory shows in various localities. The writer states that at the conclusion of the show a hundred ewes were

presented to the baby son of the household, ' with the strongest expressions of satisfaction ' at the liberal express hospitality which had been contributed by Mr and Mrs Moorhouse.' When Mrs Benjamin Moorhouse aided and abetted her husband in providing such excellent hospitality at their Shepherds Bush home in 1859, she little knew that she was the first of the army of farmers' wives for whom mention of show days conjures up visions of preliminary cooking, of early rising, of innumerable provision boxes, and of the inevitable packing of sufficient crockery, teapots, and tea kettles to cope with family needs.'

Apparently it was J. B. A. Acland who mooted the first show. The suggestion was that it should be at Mount Peel (named Holnicote in 1856) but many objected to crossing the river and so Shepherds Bush was selected. Tripp and Acland were two of the first men who realised that the front hills would be suitable for runholding. Their trips up the three rivers have been often recorded but not many know that in 1855 they were up the Opihi with Burke. W. J. Burke of Halswell had a run there and they went up with stores in a bullock dray.

At the first show Alfred Cox of Ruakapuka was commended for his fine-woolled sheep. Cox had had a large Australian experience. It was a conversation with Sidey, the Lyttelton stock merchant, which probably directed Cox's attention to New Zealand.

Those of my readers who treasure H. Festing Jones's *Samuel Butler* will know of the friendship between Butler and the Moorhouses. Sam was at Mesopotamia and therefore a ' neighbour ' of Doctor Ben. In those days Doctor Ben was really the only doctor between Christchurch and Timaru. More than that, he lived on the ford and at the outlet of the Rangitata Gorge. Practically all of the north bound traffic crossed at that ford thence across the unfenced plains. ' Shepherds Bush ' was opposite ' Mount Peel.' In recent years the only signs have been a few poplars. At one time the garden round the ' homestead ' extended to eight acres and was the main feature of a long trip south. Tradition is that Doctor Ben kept open house to friends and travellers. It has been reported that as many as thirty guests have been staying. Those who know something of the old fashioned station hospitality will know what that means. It is all very well to say that the Moorhouses were hospitable to a fault but were they? Brought up in the English tradition, and early acquiring the New Zealand style a neighbour was a neighbour.

Samuel Butler, who, later, became the leading English satirist, was a frequent visitor to ' Shepherds Bush,' and it was there that he came to know William Sefton Moorhouse. They were mutually attracted. Even at that time Butler was always ready with a jibe at convention and Moorhouse had the rebel's vision splendid. Speaking of himself, he said to Alfred Cox, ' He (Sir John Hall) is all caution; I am all enterprise. Were it possible to amalgamate us the world would look upon two first-class men available for every variety of work.' Festing Jones's book is a mine of information on early Canterbury social relations. Butler was one of the few who made money in the colony. In the philosophy outlined by Butler in later life, the three important factors, in their relative positions, are money first, health second, and reputation third. The argument is that if one loses one's reputation, no matter, as long as money and health remain. Even should one lose both health and reputation, things are not gloomy as long as the money is secure. From what I know of early station life, very little attention was paid to any of the three main factors. We have charming accounts of fun and of hardships but of business practically nothing. Speaking of Moorhouse Butler says, ' It is a mercy that the dead cannot come back and haunt us while we are alive—not but what a good

many dead people, as William Sefton Moorhouse and Miss Savage, not to mention others, haunt me every day of my life. I do not suppose a day ever passes but it comes up to me with a stab that these people were kinder and better friends to me than I to them—however, let that be.' Butler wrote that note in 1895 when he was 60 years of age. Truly, emotion rules the world. Speaking of Mesopotamia, Robert B. Booth said, ' It was the most civilised experience I had had of up-country life since I left Highfield, and was very enjoyable.' In a letter to his father, Butler says, ' You can have no idea of the expenses attendant upon starting a sheep run if things are really to be done well, and not after the slatternly fashion in vogue here.' As far as I know, this was the first serious criticism of sheep men by a son of England. A few of the pre-Adamites had, of course, noted faults, and the Shragoons readily expounded their views.

Two brilliant men presided over the destinies of *The Press*—J. E. Fitzgerald and Joseph Colborne-Veel. We can with some pride say that these men drew Samuel Butler into journalism and so into literature. Butler had done something at Cambridge but the genesis of his evolutionary work was in Christchurch. Butler has drawn attention to New Zealand literature though to-day our contribution to literature rests upon a base more broad than the temporary residence of Samuel Butler and the fact that Hugh Walpole was born in Remuera, Auckland.

At twenty seven years of age Butler said, ' My sheep had bred; wool had kept high and so had sheep; runs which were pretty cheap when I reached New Zealand had gone up greatly in value. I had got hold of mine bit by bit and had pieced it into a compact, large, well bounded, and in all respects desirable property; but I was heavily involved with my merchants; I saw that if things fell—as they presently did—I might easily be cornered. I felt moreover that the life was utterly uncongenial to me and I thought it wiser to sell and go home, leaving my money at 10 per cent, which was the rate of interest then current.' This statement by a young man with classical training is one of the proofs that ' sports ' occur. Many sheepfarmers wish their sons had an equal business acumen.

We have to thank John Pascoe for the topography of Butler's exploring trips (*The Press*, November 30th, 1935). It was Butler who described the view from the Bridle Path as, ' Rather a long, blue, lofty, even line, like the Jura from Geneva.' At the time Butler was a young writer, but his description of the outer ranges is perfect. He explored the Avoca branch of the Harper, and it was not until 1930 that H. E. Hart went as far up. On his Waimakariri trip he nearly discovered Arthur's Pass. He visited the Harper Pass, and of course did a good deal in the Rangitata-Rakaia region. ' Butler will never be forgotten in the back-country of Canterbury. His work is an inspiration to the present generation of mountain travellers. His name and works are perpetuated in the Butler Range, west of the Louper stream; in Butler's Saddle on the Jollie Range; in the Erewhon Col, above the Reischek Valley; in the Erewhon homestead, in the Clyde Valley; and in the Erewhon branch of the Canterbury Mountaineering Club, in Ashburton.'

Though Butler was a man of hates, his friendship with Moorhouse, Colborne-Veel, Fitzgerald and other early men in Canterbury seems to have been very real. His friendship with Chudleigh and Haast has enabled me to come by some literary gems. Nobody can afford to neglect Butler's estimates of Shakespeare and Handel, and we must remember that Bernard Shaw said, ' It drives one almost to despair of English literature when one sees so extraordinary a study of English life as Butler's posthumous

Way of All Flesh making so little impression that when, some years later, I produce plays in which Butler's extraordinarily fresh, free and future-piercing suggestions have an obvious share, I am met with nothing but vague cacklings about Ibsen and Nietzsche . . . . . Really, the English do not deserve to have great men.' (The Preface to *Major Barbara*). The life of Butler was lived, from dawn to dusk, in the equivocal light of irony, and it is perhaps the greatest irony of all that death was destined to give him what life had persistently denied. During his life he was disregarded and misunderstood, but death brought him fame and final vindication.

The writer has a few notes written by Edward Chudleigh which, though not related to doctoring, bear repetition. Some of them can now be found in Alfred Cox's *Recollections*. Chudleigh writes, 'A. Cox told me that the name Cornstalk was first used in the Cox's home in N.S.W. Cox was not very tall but N.S.W. youngsters were long and thin. Cox and Sir John Cracroft Wilson were great friends. Cox found Sir John, a heavy man, on the South Road apparently dead. He, after some time, revived Sir John who on opening his eyes gave one of his well known snorts and said, " Ah, Cox, if I had been a poor devil of a Cornstalk like you, this would have finished me." Sir John had been thrown from his horse. He was the celebrated Thug Wilson of India—the man that put an end to the assassin caste or thugs. This was a great achievement and ranked Wilson as one of India's great men. He alarmed the Maori people by telling the N.Z. Government that if they would allow him or ask him, he would bring down his old gurkhas from India and wipe out every Maori in a few months. This was during the Maori war.'

'Sir Thomas Tancred on going to the North Island thought he ought to learn Maori so as to Christianise them, so he learned the Lord's Prayer and repeated it to me to say if he had the correct pronunciation. It is said that no emphasis should be placed on any one syllable in Maori words. Sir Thomas pronounced the Lord's Prayer in one long word, his eyes were closed all the time and he looked grand. Lady Tancred was listening and perhaps my face told of my feelings. Anyhow, she said, " It sounds to me all book." I cannot to this day improve on her ladyship's dictum. . . . . Archdeacon Mathias drove a dog cart of his own make which he called the Circulating Medium. This was often driven by me with three horses, two in the lead. It had seven foot wheels and was built by a Mr Anderson, not John Anderson. . . . . Mr and Mrs Tripp, Jim Pithie and Chapman tried to cross the Rangitata in a boat but had to return to the shore. The men got out down stream so the boat knocked them over—a narrative belongs there. Mrs Tripp was carried down stream. . . . . St. Kilda in Melbourne was named after a yacht once owned by Sir Thomas Acland of Killerton and lost on the St. Kilda beach. . . . . Hudson was given up to Classical literature. He drove a good team of eight bullocks and trained them to follow him. He once yoked up his team of eight and started for Christchurch at dawn of day. He had gone more than a mile when a friend met him and asked him, " Where is your dray?" He was reading a favourite author and forgotten to fasten the dray pole to his team. Charles Enys told me this and I know it is a fact.'

The *Reminiscences* of Robert Thew (Page 98) contain an oblique reference to Chudleigh and Abner Clough. 'Mr Chudley, the chief magistrate, a shipmate of mine, had full charge of the Hauhaus, as they were called. I was well acquainted with all the runholders over there, also a shepherd from Mount Peel named Abner Cluff. His grandfather, Robinson was the first to hoist a flagstaff and put up the Union Jack at Akaroa; otherwise it would have been a French settlement. The Hauhaus had more liberty than was good for them. They rebelled and tried to get away from the island, but before doing so they put a rope round Mr Chudley's neck and were going to pull him up to a pole or tree. Fortunately they were frustrated in the attempt.'

One often wonders whether the official record of an historical event comes up to the terse description of an amateur historian.

But Thew ends his *Reminiscences* on the right note. 'Before closing the story of my life I have to thank all the runholders for their kindness to me, and for having done all in their power to make things pleasant for me. I am especially indebted to my old friend Mr C. G. Tripp, of Orari Gorge Station. He was a man of great ability and had the gift of foresight that enabled him to prepare for events a long way ahead. He was a thorough gentleman in every sense of the word. He passed away quite a young man.'

'During the time the Campbells were at Mesopotamia, Butler's old hut, which was close to the one in the picture, was used by the Campbells as their place for cooking. The mountain towering behind the Campbell homestead is Mount Sinclair, named after Dr. Sinclair, the noted botanist, who was drowned in the Rangitata and is buried close by—a large flat stone slab still covering the grave near the Mesopotamia homestead. It was while Ted Turton was at Mesopotamia that Mrs Campbell became very ill. Ted was a noted rider—there were few buckjumpers that could put him off—and he had a fine horse. He volunteered to go to Ashburton for Dr. Trevor. After tea he set out on his over-60-mile journey and, riding all night and through swollen rivers, he reached Ashburton at five o'clock in the morning. Dr. Trevor immediately set out on horse back for Mesopotamia, changed horses at Mount Somers, and at Hakatere was supplied with another horse used to river work by Donald Potts. At the Rangitata River the Meso boys were on the look-out for him, and they piloted him across. Ted Turton, after a rest in Ashburton for a day or two, set off back to Mesopotamia, and completed the journey again in a day, but not under such awful conditions. Mrs Campbell recovered.'

DOCTOR B. M. MOORHOUSE

Doctor Ben was a big jovial man with a jolly laugh and a fine singing voice. There can be no doubt that he was a good neighbour and the early runholders within fifty miles of Shepherds Bush much appreciated his nursing and medical skill. Three horses were kept handy, one to ride, one to lead and the third fresh. Thus the Doctor was ready for any emergency. In his youth he had been apprenticed to a doctor and had had medical training at Leeds, but in New Zealand medicine was a second occupation to sheep farming.

The Doctor's future wife, Miss Alice Pearson, came out in the *Royal Stuart* and they were married at Lyttelton on February 17th, 1855. The *Royal Stuart* carrying twenty-one other cuddy (first saloon) passengers made a record passage of 83 days from land to land. The anchor was dropped 87 days out from Plymouth. A diary records the cuddy passengers.

'Paul, a nephew of Mr Paul the author of the little red book. Mr and Mrs Harding, a captain in the merchant service now coming out as a settler. Poingdestre, a Jerseyman, come out to see what may turn up.

Heywood who has been out before, and is engaged in business. The two Maudes and Freeland, the best men on the ship. Daw, the most quiet and silent man on the ship. Hodgson, a son of the solicitor to the Bishop of London. Bennett, an Irishman and a civil engineer, and very good in his profession I should imagine. Mrs Teschemaker and her two sons, well disposed men. Miss Pearson, a young lady under the charge of the captain, and report says going out to be married at Canterbury.'

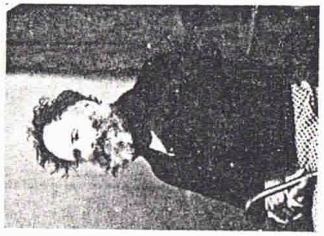
Tripp and Acland were in the *Royal Stuart*. The *Lyttelton Times* of February 21st, 1855 recorded the marriage by the Rev. W. Dudley of Michael Moorhouse Esq., of Nottingby, to Alice, second surviving daughter of Thomas Pearson Esq., of Howden, Yorkshire.

Mount Peel, the Holnicote of the fifties, lies just over the river from Shepherds Bush. Sir Hugh Acland has informed the writer that the river has now cut in so much that the old Shepherds Bush site has almost gone.

The Acland papers state that on March 17th, 1856, Moorhouse and Harding were living in a tent with a chimney built at one end. At that time Cracroft Wilson was at his first station below the site of Cracroft, said to be ' two hours ride down from Shepherds Bush.'

When Acland and Tripp were starting Mount Peel, Abner Clough, the son of the pakeha-Maori, was employed. At the time he was a broth of a boy about eighteen years of age but a versatile man. The papers record some of his work. ' We accordingly started at 12.30 with three horses, a dog, a gun, about twenty pounds of flour, some tea, and one or two quart pots, besides our blankets. We ere long came upon a wild pig. Abner stuck her, but at the same time, finding some young suckers, he left the old one and secured two of the young ones, which we took with us. It was very rough work, as we were entirely in the hills, and the horses were of more use to us in carrying our swags than ourselves. We camped in a small gully. Abner made dampers, very small, and roasted the suckling pigs for supper. . . . . Abner offers to put up our out-station and find a mate at £15 a hut, we finding the food and tools. . . . . Abner has the promise of Macdonald's shearing. . . . . Abner the following day crossed twice on foot, though this is no criterion as he does not mind crossing up to his chin. This comes of his Maori blood, and few white men here would attempt it. . . . . Abner stopped to re-thatch the house, which had been loosened by the nor'wester. . . . . Abner went off to the dray once with the mokihi, and brought back two sheep which had been drowned on the top of the dray. . . . . I spoke to Abner about Robinson (his brother), he is going to give him a sound thrashing when he comes back. . . . . Moorhouse walked down through the Forest to Timaru and brought up his stores to the other side of the Forest, and on these we continued to live till Tripp's return, carrying flour and sugar on our backs about six miles. . . . . It would be a good plan to engage him (Abner) for two years at once, and his mate Brown for a few months. Both can split.'

Speaking to an old pioneer I was told that Dr. Moorhouse had ' studied and passed his examinations but never took out a certificate to practise.' A list of ' registered medical practitioners was not official till the Gazette of 1868. Early records of the fifties often speak of legally gazetted doctors, but to my knowledge there were no acts covering medical practice. A man would arrive in the colony and if he had a diploma he would ' call ' on the doctors and be ' received ' into the fold. Others came and practised at will. Those were the days. Moorhouse, like his brothers, had a liberal education, and was, I think, at Cambridge before taking up medicine.



DR. D. WATKINS

DR. M. MORRIS

CANTERBURY FROM THE BRIDLE TRACK (E. Norman)

There is no doubt about Moorhouse's skill, he proved it over and over again. There are records of his treating puerperal sepsis, fractures, pneumonia and other serious disorders with good result. Records also show that he was not above sending a serious case into Christchurch.

Of Poigndestre it has been recorded that, 'Like many other settlers he was an all-round handy man with an original turn of mind, and so when in 1860 the first horse-racing meeting was to be held there he determined to go, and go in approved style! Out of an old packing case he constructed a gig, and in it drove a tandem pair consisting of an ancient white horse and a mule. Upon arriving at the racecourse, amidst much good-natured chaff, he unhitched his team and entered the mule for a race. Needless to say it did not win, but Poigndestre, nothing daunted, harnessed his pair and drove home again amidst cheers from the crowd.'

In the papers of the Hon. J. B. A. Acland we find reference to Dr. Parkerson. There had been an outbreak of sepsis at Mt. Peel and Dr. Moorhouse had recommended advice being sought in town. 'August 25th, 1856: My first visit was to Mr Parkerson, a doctor, who told me to leave off quinine etc., that my treatment was very good but would never cure the foot, as the only thing it wanted was support. He put on a bandage. He gives me no medicine, told me I did not want it, but to live well and not to refuse to eat my dinner if I could not get wild pork, which is not so plentiful at Christchurch as at Mount Peel.'

James Robinson Clough, better known as Jimmy Robinson, was present at the hoisting of the British flag at Akaroa in 1840. For a time he was employed by the Greenwoods at Motunau. In the early fifties he was a stockman at Homebush. In that year (1851) he kept a journal which can be found in the *Deans Letters*. Clough was a native of Bristol who, when a boy, ran away to sea. In 1837, he was on an American whaler the *Rosslyn Castle* which having had a successful season, put into Akaroa to trade with the Maoris etc. Clough fell in love with a Maori girl and remained behind. He had a considerable sum owing to him, and with this he purchased from the ship, goods, including a whale boat, and so was able to make a good start in his new life. It was his son Abner who went with Tripp and Acland when they first explored the Orari Gorge Country. At the time he was about 18 (in 1855) and he was at Mount Peel for twenty years. In 1851 Abner was at Homebush-Dalethorpe and Abner's Head and Abner's Pool are named after him. At Mount Peel there is an Abner's Spur.

James Robinson Clough was in the crew of the whale boat which took the Deans up to Riccarton in February, 1843.

NORTH CANTERBURY

In pre-pakeha times there was a large Maori population round Kaiapoi. It has been stated that Kaiapoi was the largest settlement in Canterbury till it was destroyed by Te Rauparaha about 1830. Some of the Ngai-tahu escaped into the bush at Mount Grey. In Chapter V. the writer has given the reason why a 'peace' was concluded between Te Rauparaha and the Ngai-tahu.

The Ngai-tahu were the third 'tribe' of Maoris to live in the south. The Rev. James W. Stack, of revered memory, placed the dates as Waitaha 1477 to 1577, Ngati-mamoe 1577 to 1677, and Ngai-tahu from 1677. But there is a confused terminology about the South Island Maoris (see chapter IV). It is stated that in Waitaha times there was a large pa at Mairaki

(? from heaven) which was destroyed by the Ngati-mamoe about 1580. The Waitaha had a strong pa at Cust named Kapukakariki, and there was a kaika at Kaitangata between Rakahuri and Kaiapoi. It is of some interest to learn that the spelling Kaiapohiais North Island swank. The Tuahiwi settlement began comparatively late.

We know nothing of the early traders who visited the Kaiapoi Maoris. The only record is that of Price and Williams of the *Victoria* who came overland from Port Cooper in 1831 to trade flax, pigs, etc., for muskets and tobacco. They lost their way when making for the mouth of the river. Some of the produce was taken to Rapaki and thence on to the *Victoria*. But there were probably other traders. One record suggests that whale boats were used to enter the river.

There are records of J. W. Hamilton, Captain Stokes, W. Heaphy, Mantell, Robert Waitt, Captain Thomas, Caverhill, Clough, Prebble, the Greenwoods and others being in North Canterbury before 1850. The sheep men were soon north of the Waimakiriri; the low hills on either side of the Waipara were settled before the arrival of the Pilgrims. Anybody could see that it was good easy country. Motunau began about 1847 and Caverhill soon had out-stations. But the early runs have already been noted. By 1870 much of the good farming land had been taken up in farms and the pioneering days were over. The bush attracted some to Kaiapoi and Rangiora.

Kaiapoi was laid out as a settlement (Gladstone) in 1853 but few sections were sold and the town just grew up. Baxter, Harrison and Whelch were some of the early men. A ferry was established at the South Branch by W. Smith in 1852 and by Jackson and Baxter at the North Branch soon after. White's bridge was finished in 1858 and the swing bridge at Kaiapoi in 1864. By 1857 Kaiapoi was a river port and became very busy in the sixties.

By 1855 there were 17 freeholds in the Rangiora district but Mount Thomas, Birch Hill and other runs were established before that date. There were six freeholds at Woodend in 1855. Coldstream was started before the arrival of the Pilgrims—a Scot named Macfarlane started the venture. The pioneer surveyor, C. O. Torlesse, built the first house in Rangiora in 1851 and J. C. Boys built near by. Hamilton and Crosbie Ward, T. Townsend, W. H. Perceval, G. J. Leech, W. Buss and G. Hanmer were some of the early men.

Runs were taken up very early round Oxford but timber was also a great atraction. The first houses at Oxford were built by T. H. Reeves and Hill. The former was an original purchaser under the Canterbury Association. He went to Oxford in 1851 or 1852. Later, he disappeared completely. At the end of the fifties the timber trade was well established, there being a regular route from Christchurch to the Harewood Forest.

In the very early days Rangiora was a desirable locality. The local bush with the distant views of the well covered foot hills and the high average of sunshine soon attracted attention. After this time, in common with many other country towns, Rangiora passed through an unstable adolescence. To-day the town would seem to be prosaic enough but Philip Carrington wrote one of New Zealand's best poems *Rangiora* which opens with:—

" The land has no antiquity
(Said the little voice in my head)
After all it has no history—
(No history it said).

The poem is much thought of by critics, but, to my mind, it is an error and a snobbery to overlook the stirring Maori history to say nothing of the harsh European growing pains. The Maoris are mentioned in *Rangiora.*

One Polynesian scholar has stated that Rangiora means literally day of health, but there are many associated meanings. Hui-te-Rangiora is an ancient Polynesian name for a legendary place of instruction and amusement where all kinds of knowledge were imparted by the priests and games and amusements taught. Rangiora also means clear sky and we all know that is true. It may mean place of rest or freedom from care. And there is a shrub brachyglossis rangiora.

In *Further Maoriland Adventures* J. W. Stack makes the following comment, ' We rose early next morning, and on going outside were charmed with the beauty of our immediate surroundings. We were in the curve of the Maori Bush, known as German Bay, from the number of sawyers of that nationality working there. Fine forest trees—mostly black or white pines—were growing up to within fifty yards of our cottage, and covered hundreds of acres to the south and west of us, protecting us from the coldest winds. To the north we had a fine view of Mount Grey, and the Waipara hills, and Motunau point. . . . . Soon after we got settled down our neighbour the Rev. Benjamin Dudley, came over one day from Rangiora, with Dr. Tripe, to call upon us. Mr Dudley was a friend of the Montessor Smiths, whose clergyman he was for some time at Howick, and they had written asking him to call upon us. Both he and Dr. Tripe officiated at the birth of most of our children, and Mr Dudley at their baptism.'

The memory of Benjamin Woolley Dudley is bright. He was Chaplain of the *Cressy,* the first incumbent of Lyttelton, and archdeacon in 1876. The cause of the Church benefited greatly from his private means. He was not one of those condemned by Sydney Smith.

DOCTOR CHARLES DUDLEY OF KAIAPOI

As yet I know very little about this early doctor. He came out in the *Labuan* arriving in August, 1851. Born in 1801 he was educated at Edinburgh, Paris, and London. In 1844 he married a daughter of Captain E. Scott of the 20th Light Dragoons. When he came out he was 50 and so was not a young pioneer but an experienced doctor. He died in 1881 leaving a son and daughter. In 1852 the Doctor began practice in Lyttelton and was there for five years settling in Kaiapoi in 1857. He served three times as Mayor, and was a councillor for about twenty years. For a time he was registrar of births, deaths and marriages, and was the most prominent Justice of the Peace—no sinecure in those days. I hope some descendant will tell me something of the Doctor. His photograph in the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* is striking. Kaiapoi seems to have been a trying out place for doctors in the early days.

DOCTOR MATTHEW MORRIS

Matthew Morris (M.R.C.S. Eng.) was born in Sussex and came out in the *Rose of Sharon* in 1857. He settled at Leithfield in 1862 and from that time was the leading doctor in North Canterbury. He is mentioned in Mrs Courage's *Reminiscences.*

LETTER FROM MISS G. MORRIS

'After my father arrived in New Zealand, he put up at a hotel in Christchurch, and while there was taken very ill, and when he recovered he found his trunks and all his belongings, including his diplomas, had been stolen. Some years later his diploma was found in a drawer at one of the Clubs, and returned to him. His valuables he never heard of again, but his sister bought some of his books in a second-hand shop in Auckland. He had to send to England for a copy of his diploma, and while waiting for it went with a Mr Oakden to Lake Coleridge, and from there seems to have gone from station to station, finally arriving at the foot of the Blackston Hills where they were snowed up for some time. They heard afterwards that one of the richest gold spots in the district was found where they were snowed up. Unfortunately we could not find any of my father's early diaries. He was with Dr. Coward for a short time in Christchurch, and then settled at Leithfield. After he married in 1865 he went to Kaiapoi and was in partnership with Dr. Dudley for about a year. He was there at the time of the 1868 flood. The next year he was at Leithfield, and came to Amberley in 1870. There were only four houses then and the railway did not come for some years after. You are quite correct about Leithfield being important. The coaches north and south always changed horses at the Royal Hotel Stables. There were two hotels, two churches, a police station, a prison, a flour mill, two stores, and a post office which was moved to Amberley and is the Court House now. When first my father came, the North Road was the only road. There were no trees or fences and he was able to ride across country. His practice extended from Saltwater Creek, Sefton and surrounding districts to beyond Culverden, and he used to go to Heathstock, Horsley Downs, Greta Peaks, and Waikari. Beyond Waikari he hired fresh horses. The Waipara was often a bad river to cross because of the large boulders. One morning after a heavy rain he was sent for to a patient, and when he arrived the man said, 'You got across the river all right. I told the boy that if they were in flood he was on no account to risk his life, but he was to go to Sefton and wire for you to come.' Very often the Doctor was the first to cross after a flood, the water running through the gig. I don't know anything about the running of the coaches although Cobb, Fairweather, Lee, and Burton are very familiar names. I remember Burton, a little dark man with tight black curls all over his head. When the railway came to Amberley, Holder's coaches used to run every day to Waikari, and I believe they also went to Nelson. I don't know anything about the Maori names of the district, but I believe the Rev. John Laughton of Taupo could tell you all about them. We have an early photograph of my father to send to you.

Yours, etc., G. MORRIS.'

(20/12/1944).

Doctor Morris came out in the *Rose of Sharon* in 1857. The late fifties and sixties saw some of the most famous of sea-beauties in New Zealand ports. The names fitted the era of splendour of sail tradition—the *Lightning, Avalanche, Blue Jacket, Red Jacket, Rob Roy, Chariot of Fame, Eastward Ho, Gloriosa, Queen of Beauty, Rose of Sharon.* Ship builders have a habit of naming tankers and such like after these early beauties. The writer does not know the history of the *Rose of Sharon* but has heard that she went on fire on the New Zealand coast. William Reeves was also in the *Rose of Sharon* and it is of some interest to note that after the Doctor came to Canterbury he was a prolific writer to the

local press and Reeves invited him to be Night Editor to the *Lyttelton Times*. Had he done so his subsequent career would probably have taken a very different turn to that of a successful medical practitioner. In New Zealand, Morris became friendly with Fitzgerald, the first Superintendent of Canterbury, and at the time of Te Kooti's captivity at the Chatham Islands, the Doctor was asked to go down as Medical Officer. Wisely, Fitzgerald would give no definite term for the engagement and, equally wise, the Doctor refused the position.

DOCTOR TRIPE OF RANGIORA

Mr C. P. B. Tripe of Christchurch has sent me the following notes. 'My father was the first doctor in North Canterbury. I come low down in the list of his large family. Others are living in Wellington. My father (William Borrowdale Tripe) began at Rangiora in 1859 and was succeeded by Dr. J. Badger Downes in 1871. They both married Brandons, daughters of Captain J. Rose Brandon. I think my father was, for a short time, associated with Dr. A. C. Barker before going to Rangiora. Downes was a school mate at Birmingham with Joseph Chamberlain, and they corresponded for many years. William Borrowdale Tripe was born in London and educated at Merchant Taylor's School, Bow Grammar School and the London Hospital where he took the M.R.C.S. (England). The Tripes are a medical family. He went into partnership with his elder brother Dr. John W. Tripe in London until he left for New Zealand. He arrived at Port Chalmers on Christmas Eve, 1858 in the *Gloucester,* and soon came to Lyttelton in a small schooner. On the 14th February (Valentine Day) he married Susan Dorothy Brandon and they had fourteen children. His practice extended along the north bank of the Waimakariri and north as far as Cheviot. His practice was difficult and dangerous due to bad roads and lack of bridges, and he often slept with the sky for a roof and a flax bush for a pillow. On one occasion, when swimming a swollen river, he was pulled out and saved by his dog. On another occasion he was called late in the afternoon to a sawmill accident. Riding up he tied pieces of calico to scrub etc. as he went along. When he got to the patient he found that amputation of all the fingers was necesary. . The only light was a candle reflected from a mirror. The patient did well. Coming home he found his way by the calico strips. On another occasion he got "bushed" when returning from a long distance patient and had to sleep under a big flax bush. In the morning he saw a farthing on the ground showing that somebody else had probably preceded him in that bed. Before my father came out to New Zealand and before the Crimea and the Mutiny, he was at dinner with the Earl of Shaftesbury when a discussion arose concerning the ravages of cholera at that time prevalent. Then and there it was decided that relief should be organised, and the Shoe Black Brigade was formed. My father was an original member and the first honorary physician. In February, 1871 my father left Rangiora for Picton and in 1878 he moved on to Wellington where he died in 1908. Downes took his Rangiora practice.'

The writer has many friends among the old families in North Canterbury. One and all speak of the kindness and skill of Doctor Tripe and Doctor Downes whose memories are revered. The Tripes are a medical family. Another brother, Dr. Julius Decimus Tripe, came to New Zealand in 1862. The Tripes are a very old Devonshire family. The father, John Tripe, began in the Army, then studied medicine and was a naval surgeon, but later practised in London. W. B. Tripe was born in 1822.

In 1849 he was on the cholera staff and took an active part in the Earl of Shaftesbury's movement and was honorary physician to the first Shoe Black Brigade. These notes are not the place to discuss this very interesting movement. After leaving Rangiora, Tripe was provincial surgeon and immigration commissioner for Marlborough till 1878. In Wellington he was consulting physician to the Wellington Hospital and in 1908, the year of his death, the oldest doctor in that town. To-day the Tripes are a well known family in Christchurch and Wellington. The writer has no means of finding an exact history of the Tripe family. References suggest that they came from Normandy in the 15th century and owned land in Devonshire till the end of the 18th century.

A member of the Tripe family has supplied the writer with an extended history of the Tripe family. Apparently they reached Devon in the 11th century acquiring lands there and in the 14th century marriage with the Courtenays brought more estates. Doctor Tripe's father was the youngest son of a very large family who entered the Army. Finding that promotion would make inroads into his capital, he began the study of medicine. Julius Decimus who came to New Zealand was the tenth son of John Tripe.

'In the seventies or eighties or thereabouts Dr. Ovenden was practising in the Kaiapoi and Rangiora districts. After he moved to Christchurch he was for a time a partner of Dr. H. H. Prins. Dr. J. C. Palmer married his daughter and for a short time these two were partners. For a long time Ovenden was the principal surgeon in Christchurch.

Dr. J. B. Downes was in Rangiora in the early seventies and lived opposite the saleyards. He married a widow, Mrs Wigney, who had a daughter by her first marriage. A tall thin man, the Doctor generally wore a frock coat. For a time he acted—like many other early doctors—as a dentist in so far as extracting at any rate. The Doctor was a very temperate man, rather unusual in those days in Rangiora. He died in the Papanui Road. Mr W. M. Cotter, the surgeon, lives in his old house. He was very much beloved by many people in the Rangiora district, being simple and conscientious for his patients.

Dr. William Adcock Burrows was a highly qualified man contemporary with Dr. Downes. By religion a Roman Catholic he was very kind and popular. His coachman Robert McKee was a first rate hand with horses. The Doctor who was stout and florid lived in High Street near the Post Office. At one time he had a beautiful dappled grey carriage horse which was stabled at the back of his house. The stable caught fire and the horse was burnt alive, The screams of the horse are remembered by many old residents. The Doctor was very popular and a frequent visitor to the stations and farms. George Buckham was one of his great friends. Temperate for those days, the Doctor was not above a glass of wine but it is wrong to say, as was said of many early doctors, that he was not always capable of doctoring well. We must remember that in the seventies most country towns including Rangiora offered chances for young men to acquire bad habits, they were, in fact, great drinking shops, and intemperate doctors were considered clever. Doctor Williams came to Rangiora about 1884 with a large family and lived opposite the Post Office.

Dr. Gordon came from somewhere in the East about the middle eighties and died not long after. He was a tall handsome bearded man with a gentleman's manner, and soon became a prominent member of local societies. It has been said that in the East he had acquired a drug habit but such was said about almost any man who had been out East. At any

rate old residents speak of his eloquent address at the Debating Society when he maintained that the East was the cradle of the human race.

Dr. Charles Edward de Lacy McCarthy M.B., T.C.D., came from Ireland with a great splash of trumpets but the Doctor's temperament was not very stable. He bought a fine yellow buggy—probably one of Howland's —and a chestnut trotting mare which created a stir but the Doctor did not stay long.

Dr. Geoffrey Sherbourne Clayton was a Harrow and Balliol man—an unusual combination of school and college. He was attracted to Canterbury by the name Oxford on the map but it is said that he got a shock when he saw the place. His father was head of the firm Clayton and Bell, makers of stained glass windows. Some of their work is in the Fernside church. The Doctor lived next to the Post Office in the old buildings of the Union Bank. Edith Wahl—a Russian lady—came out and married him in Rangiora and they had a large family. Mrs Clayton died in Worcester Street in 1944. Clayton died about 1930. He was a charming man and it is odd that another Oxonian, Dr. Weld, should settle in Oxford. For a time Clayton practised at the Chathams and in Christchurch and in his early days joined in most sports, but Rangiora did not suit his temperament.'

The above notes were supplied by an old resident who desires to remain anonymous, but the writer has found that all the information is correct.

LETTER FROM MR F. W. HUNNIBELL, (Nov. 22nd, 1944).

'Your notes about Rangiora doctors came to hand and, with pleasure, I add the following information, all of which is absolutely authentic. A very early chemist and dentist of the Township was Mr Bourke, whose business premises were near the present Bank of New Zealand. He rode a black horse famed for ambling and, as a small boy, I never remember seeing it going at any other gait. He lived at the bottom end of Church Street, near the bush. His son, William, after leaving Rangiora, went to his brother-in-law's farm in Waikaia, Southland. Another son, George, was interested in trotting and eventually went to Australia.

Doctor Tripe was one of the very earliest medicos of the village. He lived in Ashley Street and the residence is, I think, still there standing well back from the road on the west side. I remember him meeting me in the street about 1870, and asking me whether I wouldn't like a little sister or brother, and sure enough, one arrived a day or two later. One of his sons is a dentist in Colombo Street, Sydenham.

Doctor Burrows lived next door to us; in fact, my father owned the house that the Doctor lived in. He was very short-sighted, and the story is told that he once entered the bedroom of a lady patient, and toddling up to the bed said, 'Well, I see you are much better to-day by the look of your face." "But, Doctor" said the nurse, "that's the foot of the bed, Mrs——'s face is at the other end." I remember that once he had a bad accident; his fine horse returning from Christchurch ran away down Percival Street, and the Doctor and his groom, Arthur Jarrett, were thrown from the gig. I think he was more concerned about the horse than he was about himself and the groom, for the poor animal had broken its leg and had to be shot. Mrs Burrows died a few months before the Doctor, and they both lie now in the Roman Catholic cemetery.

Dr. Baker was another early Rangiora doctor. He lived by the Library Institute having built himself a fine house, later occupied by Doctor Will.

Dr. McCarthy I remember very well. He lived near the Post Office and owned a fine chestnut mare, which he once raced against Mr Bamberger's black horse on the usual course of those days: from Judge Gresson's gate to the East Belt. With other boys I was there to see the fun, and could barely restrain my horse Jack from beating the two contestants. He ran so well indeed that Jack Hossack, the local saddler, offered to back him against the winner, but the bet was never taken up.

Hoping these few notes on the early medicos of North Canterbury will be of use to you. I remain,

Yours sincerely, F. W. HUNNIBELL.'

Geoffrey S. Clayton died during 1929 at Oriental Bay, Wellington, aged 75. He came to New Zealand in 1884.

Clayton was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Volunteers and was for a time Principal Medical Officer for Canterbury and Marlborough. Late in life Doctor Clayton held several positions in the Health Department.

On June 4th, 1900 Doctor Clayton received a typwritten letter from a person signing himself ' Unknown ' offering him £200 if he would poison a certain woman. The letter was referred to the police who, of course, thought the whole thing a hoax, but on June 12th the Doctor received another letter in which he was accused of cowardice. These two letters were the start of the celebrated Styche case.

Dr. Downes held the M.R.C.S. (England). He was born at Handsworth, Staffordshire, in 1840 and was educated at the General Hospital and Sydenham College (Birmingham) and came out to New Zealand in the *Romulus* in 1862.

On February 22nd, 1900 Dr. Ovenden gave a practical demonstration of the use of Xrays to members of the British Medical Association at his Studio in Hereford Street (*N.Z. Medical Journal* 1900).

DOCTOR WELD OF OXFORD

The outstanding medical personality of Oxford is J. E. Weld. So many tales are told of his eccentric methods of practice that it is difficult to sift the true from the false. My general impression is that he was a very kind and able man. Among the letters I have received, I find many which suggest that Doctor Weld's life is as one would expect from an Oxford graduate practising in a New Zealand country town. He thought that the working men were paying too much for their beer, and so started the Working Mens' Club, and this action can be noted as typical of the man. One of his old patients writes as follows: ' The Doctor had a heart of gold. He often took his own vegetables in his little old Maori kit to a poor patient. He always wore a long tailed coat and his suits were made to measure because he had a corpulency. He was seen going out with a brand new suit but came home in a coat all rags and tatters, and when his wife asked him about it, he said that the Good Lord said that if you have two coats, you should give your brother one. I only knew him in his later days. The son of a neighbour was very ill and the Doctor was sent for in a hurry. When he saw the boy's condition, he told the mother to give him castor oil because he had only eaten too many green apples from the Doctor's orchard. This gave him an idea to catch the culprits with some fish hooks on the fence, but all he caught was his own maid, she was collecting

the hen's eggs, and the Doctor called himself all kinds of things for not having more sense. If any old identity was ill he would go to see them, sometimes walking miles to do it, to see if he could help or give any advice, whether sent for or not, and money was never passed. If anybody were going to Christchurch, the Doctor would ask them to bring home some tasty food. This he would take to any sick patient.'

A well known resident of the Oxford district told me that, in his younger days, Doctor Weld was up to most of the activities usually noted with Oxford undergraduates, and that he was a delightful personality. One of his stock expressions on entering the house of a sick patient was: ' Well, how is the patient to-day? Not dead yet! I will send up a coffin on the waggon to-morrow.' Another run holder told me that Dr. Weld was his constant companion for many years, and that no man had a greater sense of British sportsmanship and fair play.

NOTE FROM MR STEPHEN WELD

' Doctor John Edward Weld was one of twelve children (eleven sons and one daughter) of the Reverend Joseph Weld of Tenterden, Kent, who though in Holy Orders, held no cure, and appeared to be a man of means. He set up his sons in professions. Medicine claimed three—Dr. O. Weld, of Mount Barker, South Australia, Dr. C. H. Weld, of Sandhurst, Kent, and J. E. Weld. J. E. Weld first practised at Hailsham but soon emigrated with his wife and family to Australia practising at Kadmantoo near Nairn. He returned to England and once more sailed, this time for New Zealand, as Medical Officer on the emigrant ship *Wild Duck*. The Maori war then raging in the North Island induced him to settle at Havelock in the South Island in 1873. Here he joined a rifle company. A few years later he removed with his family by sailing cutter to Lyttelton and took up work at Oxford, which at that time was a busy sawmilling township running as many as twenty mills at one time with an accompanying waste of birch timber which later became valuable. To get rid of the timber they held auction sales at which the timber was sacrificed. There being no railway, the timber was carried away by drays, horse drawn and sometimes bullocks. A passenger service was carried on by W. Paget of the Commercial Hotel, West Oxford by means of a brougham drawn by two horses. The same carriage was used for weddings. The advent of the railway, the growth of the sheep industry, and the conversion of the bush country into fine grazing has largely improved the status of the district. At first Dr. Weld conducted his practice on horseback owing to long distances and poor roads, but later by means of the popular buggy. He was of jovial disposition, a keen shot and always ready to join in a shoot, a man of great sympathies and unorthodox surgery and he raised a family of six, one died at the age of four years. He was instrumental in starting the Working Mens' Club which has grown to its present dimensions. He was on good terms with various competitors who appeared on the scene from time to time, to one of whom he married a daughter—Dr. B. Volckman. After the death of his wife he made several trips to England, later inducing Miss Newington, the daughter of Dr. Newington of Tenterden, his one time tutor, to come out and marry him. The union continued happily till his death in 1910. Trusting this is the information you want.

Yours, etc., STEPHEN WELD.'

The earliest reference to doctors at Oxford is in *The Story of Oxford*. In 1868 Dr. T. C. Waring was admitted to the Oddfellows Lodge. In April, 1875 Dr. J. E. Weld was elected a churchwarden. In 1881 Dr. H. Reeves was the medical officer to the Druids and in 1887 Dr. Weld initiated the Working Mens' Club.

DOCTOR DANIEL WATKINS OF AKAROA

Dr. Watkins was not the first resident doctor in the Bays. He came to Akaroa in 1850 at the age of 59, and so was not a young pioneer. For a time, he was in active practice, acting as doctor, chemist, registrar of births, deaths, and marriages, etc. in the same way as Dr. Donald of Lyttelton. He came out as Surgeon Superintendent of the *Cressy* which arrived in Lyttelton on December 27th, 1850.

The Doctor came of a well known family and had an interesting career before coming to New Zealand. A perusal of the Watkins family tree is mildly exciting. The family is of Welsh descent. Much is known about Robert Watkins (1646) of Stroud, Gloucestershire. Thomas Watkins (1745) was the first to live at 'Overcourt.' Our Doctor's wife was a grand daughter of Admiral Lord Hawke. In the marriage register she has three names, both christian and surname, showing the mingling of the families. Among the antecedents, I notice a Sloane related to Sir Hans, and the Doctor's wife was a Sloane. His step-mother was one of the Drew family so well known in Tasmania. One of the Doctor's half sisters died at Port Lincoln, South Australia. Dr. Watkins was a student at St. Bartholomews where his name is on the 'Honours Board.' One of his teachers was Sir William Lawrence. In 1816 Sir William expounded evolution, thirty years before Darwin wrote *The Origin of Species*. He was charged 'with the unworthy design of propagating opinions detrimental to society and of endeavouring to enforce them for the purpose of loosening those restraints on which the welfare of mankind depends.' As his career was to be that of a surgeon, he yielded to the outcry and suppressed his work. His action must be considered a blot in the history of medical ethics quite apart from the anthropological aspects. A doctor must be an advocate of the truth. Dr. J. C. Prichard also wrote on evolution about the same time. At St. Barts., Watkins came under the influence of Abernethy. Many of the Doctor's antecedents were medical men. The library facilities in New Zealand do not include the records of the London Hospitals, hence I have no exact knowledge of the medical activities of the Watkins family. Some of our Doctor's certificates are signed by Jenner. The family tree has a note to say that the Doctor was F.R.C.S. (Eng.)—this may be correct.

Doctor Watkins had seven children, all born in England. Their descendants are legion. A strong artistic sense keeps coming out in the family.

The eldest son Henry Green Watkins was born February 13th, 1829, and was baptised at Mary-le-bone. The parent's address is given as George Street, Portman Square. H. G. Watkins married Elizabeth Maria Evans at Plumstead, Kent, on October 12th, 1853. They had twelve children; the first two were born in England. H. G. Watkins, his wife, and two children went out to Malta in the *Gleaners*. At Malta he 'acted' for a doctor for a year. Then he came out to his father at Akaroa about 1858. For a time, he was at the Thames goldfields, then a partner of Bayfield the chemist at Lyttelton, finally becoming the chemist at Akaroa. He had land in the Puaha Valley, Little River, afterwards worked by his eldest son. H. G. Watkins took a prominent part in local politics in Akaroa;

Watkins, Akaroa

he was the second Mayor of the town. He died November 1st, 1879 at Akaroa and the *Akaroa Mail* of November 4th contains an appreciative notice.

The second child, Stephen Watkins, was born May 27th, 1830 in England and came out about 1860 in the *Roman Emperor*. He was at Akaroa for 26 years removing to Christchurch about 1884 where he died about 1889. Before coming to New Zealand, he studied at Art Schools and later was a teacher of art. In England he had been a student of the Department of Practical Art, Somerset House where he gained a number of prizes. At Akaroa he promoted the Horticultural and Industrial Exhibition and was one of the founders of the Akaroa Library acting as Honorary Secretary for a time. When he died he left a widow and ten children. The artistic ability has come out in several of his descendants.

Doctor Watkin's two daughters both married members of the Haylock family so well known in the Bays.

The fourth child Charles Donner died at three years of age.

The fifth child William Montague Niven never married. He is known in the family as Will Watkins the artist. I know nothing of art but I understand that he was second in the same year as Gully was top.

The seventh child was Alfred Frank who was born on the 6th of May, 1846.

I make no apology for relating the family of Dr. Watkins since in many records there are gross errors. Those of the present Watkins family must trace their descent from the Doctor because no other antecedents lived in New Zealand.

In *Tales of Pioneer Women* we read that the Akaroa doctor travelled round the Wairewa district every three months. Between his visits Mrs John Archer acted as nurse and midwife. 'On many a night a horseman would ride up to her home telling of some case of sickness, and she would mount her horse and ride off. perhaps many miles, sometimes in cold and storm, to her case.' I know of many remarkable women of the early days. In those days women stayed at home and got on with the job. I have been told that when the first Mrs Buchanan went to Ikoraki she never came out of the bay for years.

We have a record of Doctor Watkin's interest in church work. In 1853 a small church was built in Akaroa by private subscription and a grant from the Association. The eight windows in this church were presented by Dr. Watkins. In 1863 a wooden church (St. Peters) was erected in Balgueri Street. A post office was opend in Akaroa about 1850; up till that date there was no postmaster. The first postmaster, the date of whose appointment is not known, was superseded on September 30th, 1853 (*Place Names of Banks Peninsula*).

What manner of a man was Doctor Daniel Watkins? At so great a distance of time, we can have no very exact information. However a very reliable person tells me that the Doctor was very genial and jolly. He was tall and upright with a life-long interest in fishing and shooting. It was the sea fishing that kept him attracted to Akaroa. At all times he was a great walker and in old age preferred young bright company to any studious pursuits. He was never known to send an account to a poor patient. He published at least one book of sermons and his family Bible has been kept up being now in the hands of his direct descendant who lives in Dannevirke. In the *Akaroa Mail* of November 24th, 1882, is an appreciative notice of the Doctor's life.

Watkins

LETTER FROM ALICE M. WATKINS (11/12/44).

'My late husband was a son of Stephen Watkins and so a grandson of Doctor Daniel Watkins. For many years the Doctor lived with Stephen Watkins at Akaroa. He was very jolly and wonderfully hale and hearty till over 90 years. He was very fond of his pipe smoking heavily right up to the day of his death. I believe the Doctor was a Harley Street man but I don't know any dates. Both Will Watkins and Stephen Watkins were clever with their paintings. I send a family tree.

Yours, etc., ALICE M. WATKINS.'

LETTER FROM ELSIE A. PATON (23/11/44).

'Dr. Watkins was the second son of Daniel Watkins (also a doctor) and of his wife Martha (formerly Martha Collins of East or West Wells, Kent). Dr. Daniels was born at East or West Wells on December 9th, 1791. Later his father lived at 'Overcourt' Bisley, Stroud, Glos. This manor was formerly the property of Henry VIII and his royal ancestors. Queen Elizabeth is said to have lived there as a young girl. On May 22nd, 1827, the Doctor married Julia Maria Spencer Sloane daughter of Rev. Stephen Sloane. She died in Akaroa November 11th, 1851, some ten months after landing in New Zealand and is buried in the French Cemetery. Dr. Watkins died at Akaroa November 21st, 1882 aged 90. The Doctor inherited 'Overcourt' because his only full brother, older than the Doctor, died in infancy.

The Doctor was at St. Barts. and later practised in London, at Dawlish, and at Honiton, Exeter. He also was in Australia going there in 1838. He took up residence at Port Philip and then Sydney. For a time he was at Port Lincoln and then Hobart Town. He returned to England about 1842 and went into a partnership practising as a surgeon at 26 Manchester Square, London. He lost an eye while operating.

The Doctor was married at Marylebone church. His family crest is a Phoenix rising out of the flames, with the following wording 'In postu quies' (Death is the gate of life or death is the door of life). The Doctor came in the *Cressy*, one of the first four ships. He owned a lot of land in Akaroa buying the same in England previous to sailing. He was the sixth to purchase land under the Association. He travelled about the Bays on horse back. He was a lay reader in the Church of England, etc. There are several of Will Watkin's paintings in the house of Mr Haylock who lives in Bryndwyr Road. I enclose a photograph of Doctor Watkins standing near his wife's grave at Akaroa, and also two of 'Overcourt.'

Yours, etc., ELSIE A. PATON.'

(In recent years Miss Paton has been to England in connection with Watkins descent. She has a sheaf of copies of entries in registers etc.).

CHATHAM ISLANDS

LETTER FROM MR R. HOLMES

'Waitangi, Chatham Islands.
27/2/1945.

Dear Dr. Macmillan,—I am in receipt of your letter asking for information about the various doctors that have had a turn of looking after the Healthful (?) Welfare of the community residents at these Islands. You will notice that there is a query mark in the line above and this calls for

CHATHAM ISLANDS

special explanation lest it might be considered applicable to all those who have 'wasted' so much of their useful lives in these solitudes, in trying to impart comfort and healing when called upon to do so by unappreciative and ungrateful patients.

Doctor George Murray, a great friend of mine, to whom no sinister imputation of the above query mark applies, sent me your request for information. No doubt from various talks I have had with Doctor Murray, he must have considered I was the correct person to effect a junction between the distributor and the customer, so to speak. A few years ago when in New Zealand on a short visit, I was attending a function and toasts were being drunk, and possibly for want of a better subject, I was seized upon as a suitable excuse for the honouring of a toast. The toast was, 'Mr Holmes whose experiences should be recorded in a book.' I have been about 23 years in these Islands and if I had made a record of my relations with the doctors in the first 15 years it would have been a real book. In the early days when a new doctor arrived, the question was always asked, 'To which of the three F's does he belong.' These F's were fools, freaks and failures. Sometimes indeed there was a combination of all three in the same doctor. The last of the notables of this period was Hedley Vicars Drew, but one should not criticize this gentleman because he was old and past his best when he arrived. He was living more or less in the past. He was Stipendiary Magistrate as well as Medical Officer. For years it had been the custom to combine the two since a S.M. could try more cases than a Justice of the Peace. The responsibility for Law and Procedure rested with the Police Representative who was also Clerk of the Court. Some fifteen years ago I was appointed S.M. and 'general government factotum.' On one occasion a doctor was trying an affiliation case, the alleged father did not deny sexual intercourse but questioned the dates and alleged that there were three other parties concerned. The doctor suggested to me, in a loud whisper that we should make an order against the four of them. In an equally loud whisper I replied, 'Good heavens no! Some one man is the father of the child and not a syndicate.' Legally the doctors nearly drove me mad. I am pleased to say that a happier and more satisfactory state of affairs now exists. The last of the old regime lasted three months and what a hectic three months. He came from the Old Country and on his arrival was appointed here on a provisional registration. Enquiries in the Old Country were unfavourable leading to his dismissal. He finished up by taking almost a meal of two different poisons on the *S.S. Maori*.

During the past eight years we have had young men. Doctor Knight was a success and Doctor George Murray is undoubtedly a very able man—the best we have had. We dread his departure, not knowing what is to come after. I will go through the records and note the names of the older doctors. In the very distant past many of the 'doctors' were really 'quacks.' Several were misfits and some were in the sere and yellow.

Little is known of the history of these Islands. Fairbrother who was the schoolmaster here for four years, collected much information and I assisted with information of a Court nature. Unfortunately our manuscript went down with the *S.S. Holmwood* four years ago, and Fairbrother has since died.

The last full blood Moriori—the original inhabitants—died in March, 1934. I was present at the funeral which was a large and representative gathering. The deceased was aged about 50 and weighed 34 stone. It is interesting to note that another human elephant is being buried to-day

about 32 stone. Two church representatives assisted at the burial of the last Moriori—Church of England and Ratana. Never a word was said about the deceased being the last of the Morioris and so I stepped to the head of the grave, and, with the consent of the next-of-kin, addressed the assemblage and pointed out that we were burying a race as well as the deceased.

If you are thinking of writing a history of the Chathams I shall be pleased to assist. Little is known here of the history and that little is fast disappearing. There will be more records of Te Kooti on the mainland than at The Chathams. I have not before seen Allan's article on the geology (*Transactions N.Z. Institute*) which you sent, but I remember talking to both Allan and Skinner. Oddly I have not seen any other reports of the scientific parties who have visited The Chathams.

I have been crippled now for over two years on crutches from a fractured knee joint. Much water has passed under the bridge since as a recruit for the South African War I passed out of the riding school of the Second Dragoons at Piershill which was the headquarters of the Scots Greys. I regret my age and would like to be in the firing line again. I reverence the Flag which is dearer to me than life and long may it be preserved to fly full and free. Another two or three months will settle Hitler and his regime.

I trust I will be able to forward you some history of the early doctors.

Yours, etc., R. HOLMES.'

'May 1st, 1946.

Dear Dr. Macmillan,—I found that the records were packed away in an outside room of the old gaol. I am on crutches but my son took me over in a horse-drawn contraption. Many of the old death certificates were crossed 'Not certified' or 'No duly qualified medical man at the Islands.' In the list of doctors below, perhaps the first three were unqualified or were 'quacks' as the old residents termed them. The records available date from 1878 and the list of the doctors recorded is as follows:—

Samuel John Cooper (Jauary 1st, 1878). The last mention of his name was in July, 1885. In one place in the records he is designated 'Surgeon.'

George Tucker (October 31st, 1891). He is described as an 'Apothecary' and contemporary records state, 'No duly qualified medical man at the Islands' though he seems to have done good work.

F. J. Sheridan (September 2nd, 1893). Apparently uncertificated.

Hugh Walter Pigeon, M.D. (May 3rd, 1905). This seems to be the first appointment by the Health Department.

George Homer Gibson, Physician (1907). He qualified in America and came down to The Chathams in June, 1907 and remained till March, 1920. He then practised in Christchurch in Shakespeare Avenue.

George Redpath, M.B.Ch.B. (September 27th, 1920). A young man who served in the R.A.M.C. in the First World War. He left here for Auckland.

Geoffrey S. Clayton (March, 1922). He left in November having lost interest in the work.

Walter Scott Alexander (Trinity College) (November, 1922). He was a sick man when he arrived. He was about 55 years of age and had spent most of his professional life in South Africa. He died here in January, 1923.

Edward Pohan Ellison (March, 1923—July, 1925). He had just returned from Niue and came to fill a gap. He left for Rarotonga.

Herbert Greenwood (July, 1925—October, 1927). This was the last appointment by the Health Department. When the Cottage Hostpital was opened the North Canterbury Hospital Board appointed Dr. H. V. Drew in October, 1927. Hedley Vicars Drew stayed till March, 1935.

Luke Edmund Fitzgerald stayed till November, 1937 when he left for Brunner.

Kenneth Enwistle Bury (December, 1937—March, 1938). This doctor came out from England and was appointed to the Chathams with a 'Provisional Registration' but it would seem that enquiries in England showed some previous malpractice and he was 'suspended.' He took poison in his cabin on the *S.S. Maori* between Lyttelton and Wellington.

Colin Graeme Hunter (March, 1938—November, 1938. After leaving the Chathams Doctor Hunter was at the Christchurch Hospital and was later on the *H.M.S. Achilles* when she cornered the *Graf Spee* at the River Plate. He served in a distinguished manner gaining the D.S.C. for his gallantry in the action.

Harvey T. Knight (November, 1938—December, 1939). He left to go away with the First Echelon and is now practising at Oxford.

Hugh Petherick. He was here till Doctor George Murray arrived in April, 1940.

Gilbert Murray (April, 1940—November, 1945). Dr. Murray was a very successful Medical Officer in every way.

Doctor Davies is the present doctor at the Chathams.

It would seem that Doctor Pigeon was the first resident doctor with proper degress. Before his time most of the doctors were 'misfits' in some way. I believe that Dr. Pigeon was accidentally drowned in Taranaki.

Certification for deaths among the Maoris was not so compulsory in the early days and most of the Europeans who took ill went up to New Zealand.

The present policy of the Hospital Board of sending down young men is an unqualified success—they have all done well.

I have no records before 1878.

Yours, etc., R. HOLMES.'